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COUNTY, MICHIGAN, 1810-1850, AS PERCEIVED BY  
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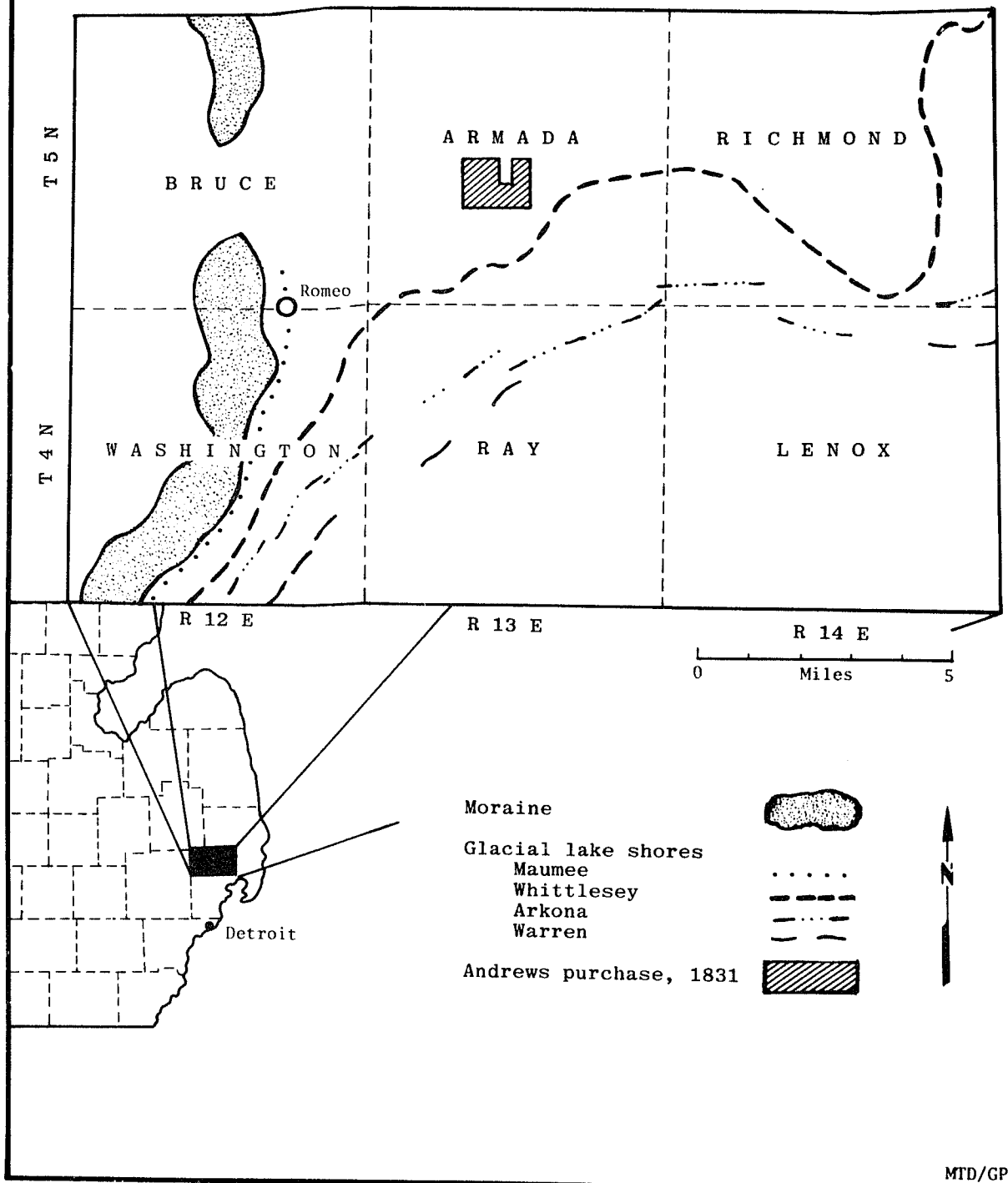
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# THE PRIMARY STUDY AREA

Northern Macomb County, Michigan



Frontispiece

THE ANDREWS BAILIWICK

A GEOGRAPHIC STUDY OF MIGRATION TO AND SETTLEMENT OF  
NORTHERN MACOMB COUNTY, MICHIGAN, 1810-1850,  
AS PERCEIVED BY SELECTED PARTICIPANTS

By

Mary Marjorie True Dooley

A DISSERTATION

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1975



## ABSTRACT

### THE ANDREWS BAILLIWICK A GEOGRAPHIC STUDY OF MIGRATION TO AND SETTLEMENT OF NORTHERN MACOMB COUNTY, MICHIGAN, 1810-1850, AS PERCEIVED BY SELECTED PARTICIPANTS

By

Mary Marjorie True Dooley

A strip of land along the southeastern edge of the state of Michigan, approximately twenty-five miles wide, is glacial lake plain, described at the time of settlement as low, level, wet, and heavily timbered. The earliest settlers either stayed in shoreline settlements such as Detroit or moved inland past the lake plain to the somewhat higher, rolling, better drained land with less dense vegetation. Generally purchases in the area of the lake plain were made only after much of the land in Inner Michigan had been bought from the government. This study examines the settlement of the portion of the lake plain in northern Macomb County; it focuses on the period of great change in the landscape when a wilderness of forest and brush was purchased by settlers and converted to farmland.

Reconstructions of past geography are made for two periods. The wilderness landscape is examined, using the reports of government surveyors and the state geologist, archaeological studies, and the descriptions of early pioneers. Attention is given to the perception of the land

by the pioneers and to their reasons for selecting the land they purchased. In the primary study area, the settlers began to impact the landscape in the early 1830s.

The second cross-section through time is for 1850. By this date the residents of the area considered it "settled," and enough material is available in the federal census and in a private manuscript collection so that a reasonable reconstruction can be made.

Each of these cross-sections is preceded by a narrative description to provide background for the reconstructions. This part of Michigan was settled as part of a major migration from New England through New York State to Michigan. The movement of selected participants is traced from Vermont through New York during the period 1810 to the 1830s. Also the process of clearing the land and establishing farms is examined for the period 1832-1850. For both of these narratives, private papers are a major source of information.

This is a source-oriented study. The personal papers of one family and its associates contained enough significant information that the study is shaped by them. The study area is defined as the sphere of activity of that family, and the style of presentation is designed to take advantage of the wealth of primary source material available in the manuscript collection. The Andrews family participated in the migration from Vermont to Michigan,

and they settled on the lake plain. While it is not necessarily the "average" family in the area, in many ways it was representative of other settlers there. One major purpose of the dissertation was to deal effectively with these unusual source materials and to blend the information gained from them with that from standard sources. Thus the paper is written about the family in an informal and very personal style. I believe the extensive use of personal materials will enable the reader to see the area and the process by which it was settled through the eyes of those who participated in the settlement of the area.

Settlers in northern Macomb County developed the area in much the same way as did those occupying the higher morainic land of Inner Michigan, and they encountered similar problems. Most of the study area involves the higher levels of lake plain, however, and would not present as severe management problems to those establishing farms as would the lower, wetter levels of lake plain close to the shore.

To the next generation,  
especially Gary, Steve, and Kristi,  
and all the generations that follow.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A number of people have contributed to the success of this study, many of them unknowingly. The Andrews family and their friends and associates never expected that their correspondence and other miscellaneous papers would become the basis of a doctoral dissertation. Other source materials were available for this study, but they were skeletal--a solid framework but somewhat limited. The Andrews collection provided the flesh for my report and added greatly to its interest. I am exceedingly grateful to all those who recorded their thoughts and observations and also to their successors who preserved the material. My mother, Edith Mills True, was one of those who appreciated and kept those records; she was also most helpful in interpreting some of the puzzling passages and recalling bits of information about the family and about early farming practices in the study area.

Staff members at various libraries were helpful in locating appropriate source material, especially Geneva Kebler of the Michigan Historical Commission Archives. I appreciate their efforts.

I also express my thanks to two of my colleagues, Dr. Jane Pyle and Dr. Bert Burns, who read this

dissertation when it was near completion. Their suggestions and comments were valuable in preparing the final version.

I am grateful to my major professor, Dr. Clarence Vinge, and the other members of my committee for their patience and guidance. Dr. Vinge, Dr. Lawrence Sommers, and Dr. Harry Brown have worked with me throughout my graduate program. Dr. Daniel Jacobson very graciously agreed to serve on the committee after the death of Dr. Paul C. Morrison. I regret that Dr. Morrison, who was my advisor in my undergraduate as well as the earlier part of my graduate study, did not live to see the completion of this work.

Lastly, there are always friends who may not have contributed directly to the success of a study but who have been of help by being supportive and encouraging. Thanks to Susan B. Smith and H. Roger Smith and to James LeBeau for being there when help was needed. I am sure they will join me in celebrating the completion of the study.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	viii
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	ix
PROLOGUE . . . . .	xi

Methodology  
The Study Area  
The Style of Presentation  
Organization

### THE ANDREWS BAILLIWICK

CHAPTER I. BY WAY OF EXPLANATION . . . . .	1
CHAPTER II. THE FAMILY AND ITS BACKGROUND IN VERMONT AND NEW YORK . . . . .	10
Family and Friends New England Background Migration to New York	
CHAPTER III. THE LAND IN MICHIGAN . . . . .	41
Speculation A Closer Look at the Land Selected	
CHAPTER IV. A FARM FROM THE FOREST--INITIAL DEVELOPMENT . . . . .	60
Tenancy Arrangements Original Structures Clearing the Land Breaking the Land for Crops Crops and Livestock Interim Period	
CHAPTER V. THE ESTABLISHED FARM . . . . .	78
Crops and Livestock Marketing Farm Products Structures	

CHAPTER VI. TOWARD AN "OLDER SOCIETY" . . . . .	99
Township Population	
Roads	
Postal Service	
Religion	
Education	
Music	
Health	
Public Service	
Financial Matters	
The End of the Rainbow?	
GENEALOGICAL APPENDIX . . . . .	118
NOTES . . . . .	123
LIST OF SOURCES FOR FIGURES . . . . .	131
EPILOGUE . . . . .	134
The Area and Its Development	
The Source Materials	
The Style of Presentation	
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	141



## LIST OF TABLES

1. Agricultural census records for Armada Township,  
1850 . . . . . 82
2. Cost of building a 46' x 32' barn in 1847 . . . . 97

## LIST OF FIGURES

The primary study area, Northern Macomb County, Michigan . . . . .	Frontispiece
I. Generalized soils, Northern Macomb County, Michigan . . . . .	xix
II. Level land typical of the lake plain in Northern Macomb County . . . . .	xxi
III. The valley of Coon Creek . . . . .	xxii
1. Westward migration of the Andrews family . . .	3
2. Reference map of New England . . . . .	11
3. Ned's sketch map of Putney, Vermont . . . . .	16
4. View of the village of Putney from the family garden . . . . .	17
5. The brook where the Andrews children used to play . . . . .	18
6. Ned's map of the Town of Putney and the surrounding area . . . . .	22
7. Grist mill and dam in Putney, Vermont . . . . .	23
8. View of meadows and Bare Hill from the village of Putney . . . . .	26
9. Reference map of New York State . . . . .	31
10. Land purchased by Elisha D. Andrews for himself and members of his family . . . . .	42
11. Topographic map of northern Macomb County, Michigan . . . . .	49
12. Land sold in 1831 and before, northern Macomb County, Michigan . . . . .	50

13.	Condition of vegetation in 1817-1818, northern Macomb County, Michigan . . . . .	52
14.	Effectiveness of drainage in 1817 and 1818, northern Macomb County, Michigan . . . . .	55
15.	Distribution of Indian population before and during the first white occupancy . . . . .	57
16.	Archaeological sites, northern Macomb County, Michigan . . . . .	58
17.	Part of a letter written by Henry TenEyck . . .	64
18.	The Andrews farm, showing those developments completed between 1832 and 1851 which can be located with reasonable accuracy . . . . .	65
19.	Farmland showing worm fences . . . . .	70
20.	An example of crop records in Elisha's account book . . . . .	88
21.	A typically fat hog of the 1800s . . . . .	94
22.	Location of services utilized by residents of the Andrews farm between 1831 and 1850 . . .	103
23.	The back of one of Henry TenEyck's letters, including address and postmark . . . . .	104

## PROLOGUE

## PROLOGUE

The settlement of southern Michigan has been studied and discussed by both historians and geographers, one of the most frequent topics being the relatively slow rate of settlement in the area. Ralph Brown suggests several reasons in his book on the Historical Geography of the United States; one of the more controversial reasons given is that unfavorable (and inaccurate) reports by surveyors caused settlers to avoid the area.<sup>1</sup> Madison Kuhn<sup>2</sup> and Bernard Peters<sup>3</sup> have written somewhat conflicting analyses of the effect of these reports.

But disagreements about the nature of the landscape applied mainly to the interior of the Lower Peninsula. There was general agreement that the strip of land paralleling the southeastern shore was level, poorly drained, and heavily timbered. And although some settlements had

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph H. Brown, Historical Geography of the United States (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1948), pp. 270-76.

<sup>2</sup>Madison Kuhn, "Tiffin, Morse and the Reluctant Pioneer," Michigan History, 50 (1966):111-38.

<sup>3</sup>Bernard C. Peters, "Early American Impressions and Evaluations of the Landscape of Inner Michigan with Emphasis on Kalamazoo County" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Geography Department, Michigan State University, 1969), pp. 13-30.

been established in waterfront locations, few people had been attracted to the portions of the lake plain which were situated back from the shore. Even after many settlers had moved into Inner Michigan, large portions of the lake plain had not been purchased.

The purposes of this study were two. First, I wanted to investigate the settlement of a portion of the lake plain. That area had been bypassed by many. What attracted the people who finally settled there to the land? How did they perceive it? What sort of agriculture were they able to establish? What problems did they encounter? My intention was to concentrate on the settlement process as perceived by the people involved.

Second, because of the nature of the primary source material available, it seemed that the customary methods of presentation would not do it justice. Therefore, I employed a different style of presentation, one which I believe utilizes these resources most effectively.

### Methodology

Over the past half century attempts have been made to define historical geography and to categorize methods by which research in historical geography should be conducted. It seems to me that too great an emphasis may be put on restricting the field. My own opinions concur with recent statements that depict historical geography not as a branch of geography with its own techniques but simply as

geography which happens to deal with the past and which may use any of the approaches or techniques of contemporary geography that seem appropriate. Roger Minshull states such a view in The Changing Nature of Geography.<sup>4</sup> And Wilbur Zelinsky, in his article "In Pursuit of Historical Geography and Other Wild Geese," writes that:

A scientific discipline can be defined logically only in terms of the kinds of questions it asks; and the so-called field of "historical geography" is limited to precisely the same set of questions as those posed by other forms of geographic inquiry.<sup>5</sup>

Other authors imply the same attitude by presenting for historical geographers the same possibilities as those available to geographers working in the current scene, such as developing models, using quantitative techniques, and analyzing perception.<sup>6</sup>

A commonly used approach is referred to as "reconstructions of past geography," and studies using this approach can be handled in various ways. They may be of a single slice of time, as demonstrated so ably by Ralph

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<sup>4</sup>Roger Minshull, The Changing Nature of Geography (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1970), p. 140.

<sup>5</sup>Wilbur Zelinsky, "In Pursuit of Historical Geography and Other Wild Geese," Historical Geography Newsletter, 3 (Fall 1973):1.

<sup>6</sup>Robert M. Newcomb, "Twelve Working Approaches to Historical Geography," Association of Pacific Coast Geographers Yearbook, 31 (1969):27-51; H. C. Prince, "Progress in Historical Geography," in Trends in Geography, ed. Ronald U. Cooke and James H. Johnson (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969), pp. 110-18; Jan O. M. Broek, Geography: Its Scope and Spirit (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc.), pp. 29-30.

Brown's Mirror for Americans.<sup>7</sup> Or they may comprise several selected time periods which are considered significant. Robert Newcomb, in what he describes as an "exercise in stocktaking," lists twelve approaches or methods for doing work in historical geography.<sup>8</sup> What he refers to as "The Dagwood Sandwich" and Jan Broek has called "cross-sections through time"<sup>9</sup> seems to me most appropriate for many historical geography studies and particularly for the one undertaken here.

"Sequent occupance," advocated in the late 1920s by Derwent Whittlesey, is one way of using cross-sections.<sup>10</sup> It involves reconstruction of the geography of a study area for several periods when conditions there were fairly well stabilized, with comparisons then made between periods. My study focuses instead on a period of dramatic change in the landscape, the change from wilderness to farmland. Louis Seig, following the lead of his mentor, Jan Broek, suggests that cross-sections through time may be used to study a region through its whole history or to deal with changes in one significant period. He believes there should be

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<sup>7</sup>Ralph H. Brown, Mirror for Americans: Likeness of the Eastern Seaboard (1810) (New York: American Geographical Society, 1943).

<sup>8</sup>Newcomb, *ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup>Broek, *ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup>Derwent Whittlesey, "Sequent Occupance," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 19 (March 1929):162-65.



"relatively narrow slices of time interspersed with narrative description of the process which brought them about."<sup>11</sup>

The change from wilderness to farmland was a drastic alteration of the landscape, and I have reconstructed the geography of the area at the beginning and again at the end of that period of change. Dates of purchase of land and time of settlement were rather easily determined, and they establish the beginning of the period. I have accepted as the end the judgment of the settlers themselves. Recorded comments indicate that the area seemed "settled" about sixteen to eighteen years after the first clearings were made; thus the reconstructions are for either end of this span--the early 1830s and 1850.

Better understanding of the developments can be achieved by expanding the study to include background material. Knowledge of the period prior to settlement is important. Information about the process of developing farms from an area of forest and brush is also helpful in analyzing the farming operations that were established. Both of these background periods, 1810-1831 and 1832-1850, are covered by narrative, as suggested by Seig.

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<sup>11</sup>Louis Seig, "Concepts of Change and the Historical Method in Geography: the Case of Springfield, Massachusetts" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Geography Department, University of Minnesota, 1968), p. 32.

### The Study Area

The specific area selected for study was chosen and defined on the basis of materials available. I began by looking for information about the lake plain between the Ohio border and Lake Huron. A variety of material is available, but a manuscript collection in my own family is a gold mine of information.<sup>12</sup> The detailed information therein is in such contrast with the other materials (in amount of detail) that I decided to make it the focus of the study.

The collection includes the correspondence and business records of one family (that of Elisha Deming Andrews) and its associates. The activities of this family were certainly representative of others settling in the same area in the 1830s and 1840s, although no claim is made that theirs was an "average" family. Several members of the family were trained natural scientists, and their personal correspondence contains many observations of interest to geographers. These observations have proven to be reliable when checked against other data available. In addition, many business transactions were carried on or arranged by mail, and the letters report the details.

To me the geographic information contained in these papers seemed valuable enough to provide the basis for the study. With it as the basis, the study area had to be the

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<sup>12</sup>Manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.

area in which the family's activities were concentrated. Naturally, the focus was the farm itself, but commercial and social contacts were also made in the surrounding area. Portions of the six northernmost townships of Macomb County were involved in one way or another, and although in some instances the association was marginal, I included all of the six townships in the study area (Frontispiece). The surveyor's township was used because during that period it was the area unit referred to by the people involved. In addition, statistical information from other sources was listed by township.

To determine the study area because of availability of material may seem to be a reversed approach, but it is not unusual in historical studies. After all, the historical geographer does not have as many options open to him in collecting data as does the geographer working with the current scene. Ralph Brown, in discussing his study of the Eastern Seaboard, stated:

The availability of trustworthy geographic materials . . . must be the guide to the selection of the period for which a reconstruction of its past geography is made and must also govern the areal limits within which this may be done with confidence.<sup>13</sup>

With the exception of the western halves of Bruce and Washington Townships, the area within the six townships is classified as lake plain and thus falls within the

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<sup>13</sup>Ralph H. Brown, "Materials Bearing upon the Geography of the Atlantic Seaboard, 1790 to 1810," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 28 (1938):203-4.

larger search area which I first examined. Much of it is older or higher lake plain; the lower, younger deposits are toward the southeastern part of the study area and extend beyond it to the present shoreline of Lake St. Clair.

The beach ridges which developed along the shores of each successive level of the glacial lakes are generally minor features on the landscape. The only really distinct beach ridge is that of Lake Whittlesey, which meanders in a generally southwest to northeast direction across the study area. The difference in elevation between the two lake levels on either side of that ridge is only about twenty-five feet. More significant than the gentle slope, for most uses, the area along the ridges has accumulations of sand and gravel. This is a disadvantage to farming but makes the ridges attractive sites for roads, a railroad, and structures of many types.

Although the settlers in the early 1800s were apparently somewhat dubious about buying land in the lake plain for development of farms, a recent soil survey indicates that much of it is well-suited to farming. Most of the somewhat-poorly-drained soil shown on the soils map (Figure I) is described as follows:

This association is one of the best in the county for crops. The soils in it are medium to high in fertility and respond readily to management. Nearly

# GENERALIZED SOILS

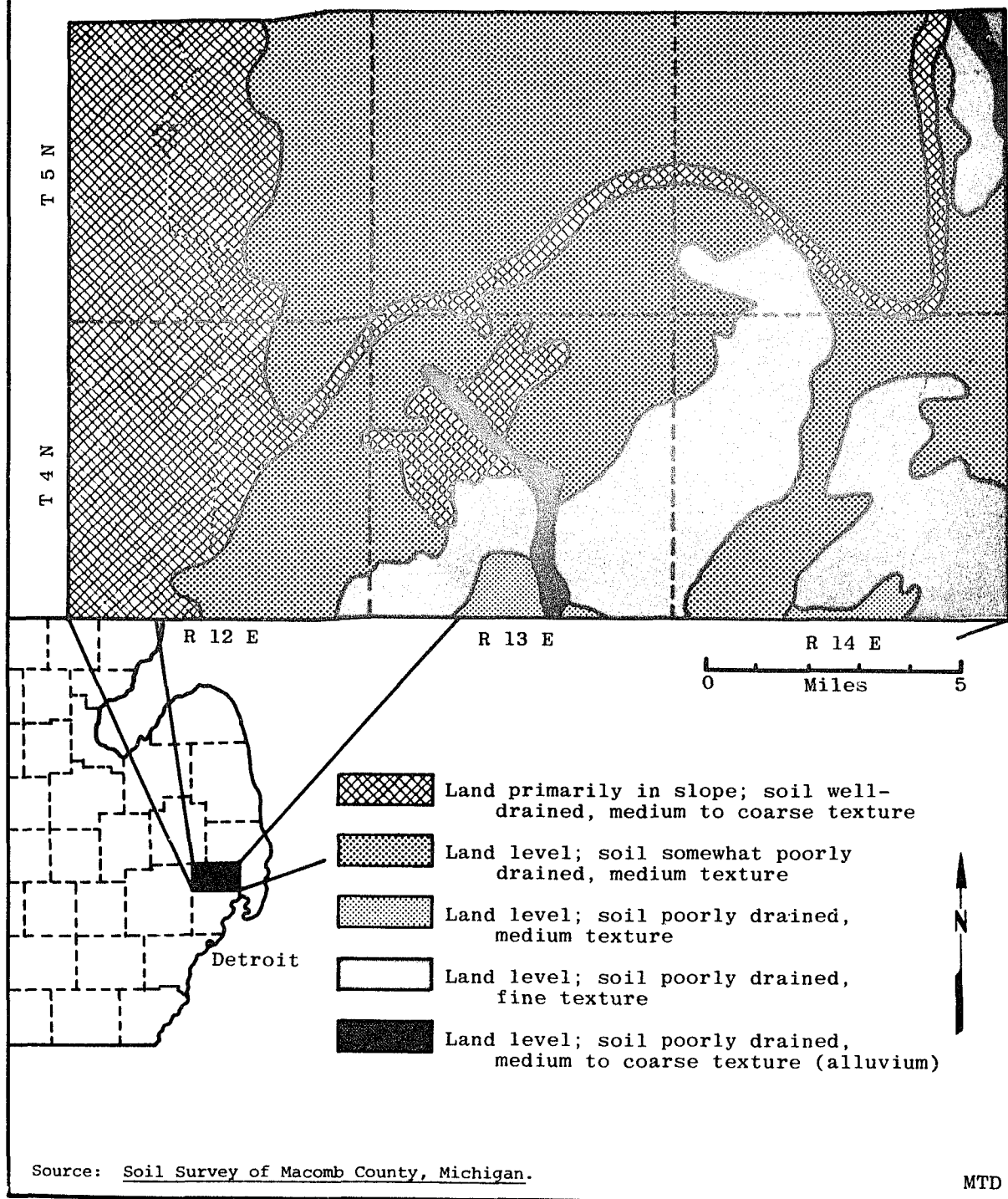


Figure I. Generalized soils, Northern Macomb County, Michigan.

all areas have been cleared and are cultivated. Excessive wetness is the main limitation.<sup>14</sup>

Under the Soil Conservation Service ratings, the limitations for farming are only slight, even less than that of the hilly morainic area in the western part of the study area. There the slopes are subject to erosion. Many of the poorly drained areas to the southeast are also well suited to crops with proper management.<sup>15</sup>

But most of the lake plain presents severe problems for modern residential and recreational development. This was not so serious a problem in the past, but as the Detroit metropolitan area continues to expand into the study area, the difficulties will be of greater significance.

With the exception of the rolling morainic hills in the west, most of the study area is level (Figure II). The greatest local relief within the lake plain is in the valleys cut by the small streams which drain the surface (Figure III).

### The Style of Presentation

One of the major goals of the historical geographer is the determination of the beliefs and attitudes during

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<sup>14</sup>United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Soil Survey of Macomb County, Michigan (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.



Figure II. Level land typical of the lake plain in Northern Macomb County. This is a view from the northwestern corner of Section 21, Armada Township, looking southeastward across what was the Andrews farm.

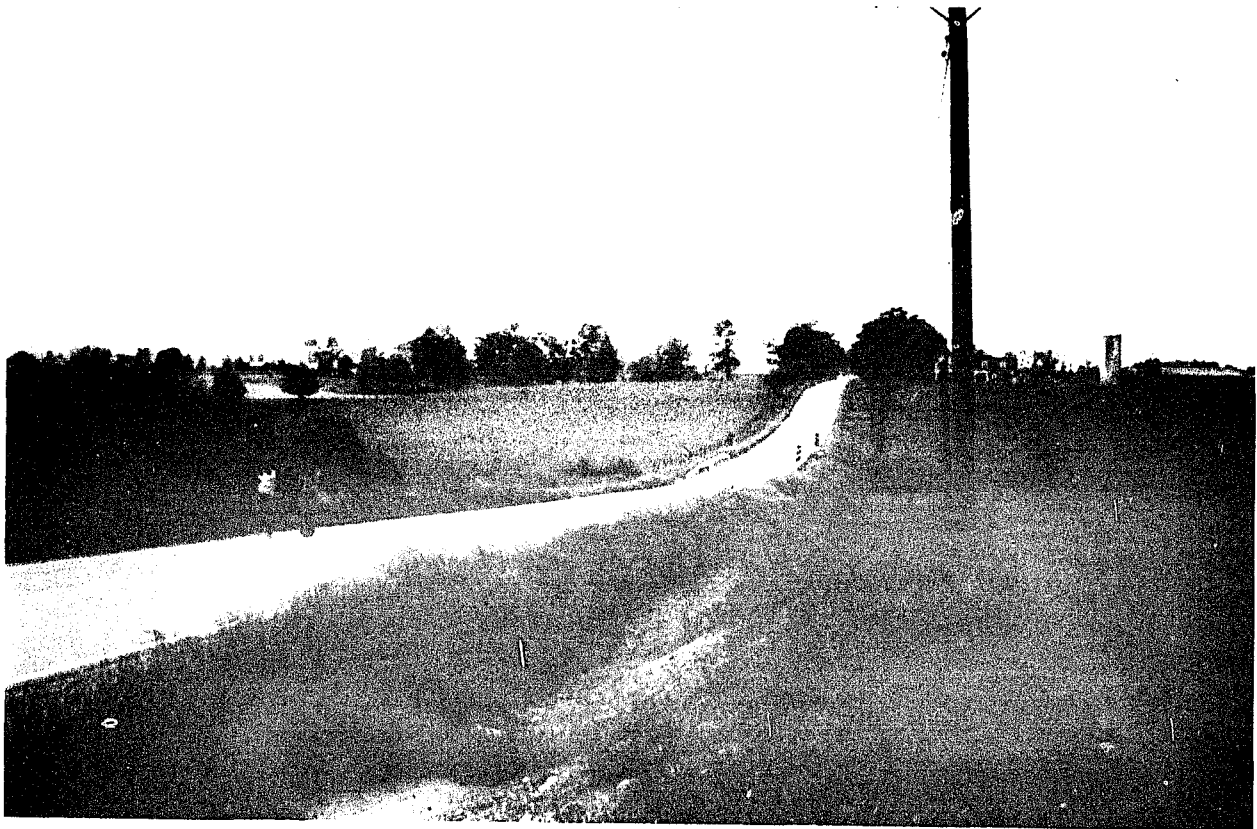


Figure III. The valley of Coon Creek. The view is from the northeastern corner of Section 21, Armada Township, looking generally westward along Armada Center Road. In the distance on the left side of the picture, the buildings partially hidden in the trees are on the site of the Andrews farmstead.



the period being analyzed. Carl Sauer indicated, in his "Foreword to Historical Geography":

This is about the most difficult task in all human geography: to evaluate site and situation, not from the standpoint of an educated American of today, but to place oneself in the position of a member of the cultural group at the time being studied.<sup>16</sup>

The great value of the Andrews collection is that many observations and evaluations were clearly stated by well-informed, observant, articulate people. I have included many direct quotes because of the flavor and quality of the writing.

My desire to use the quotations and also to incorporate other rather personal types of material led me to develop a somewhat different style of presentation. In talking with various people about the study, I found myself interweaving the various types of information--reporting on and talking about what I had discovered. I decided to write the dissertation as if I were reporting my findings from all the sources to the other members of my family. It was my feeling that the use of a large amount of personal material called for just such a personalized treatment of the problem.

This method or style of writing permits a synthesis of different kinds of source material; it also permits the

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<sup>16</sup>C. O. Sauer, "Foreword to Historical Geography (1940)," in Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer, ed. John Leighly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 362.

inclusion of comments which might be out of place otherwise. Jan Broek, in a review of Ralph Brown's Mirror for Americans, wrote:

Drawing on all available sources written before that date Brown presented the portrait of the Atlantic coast as seen through the mind of a fictitious geographer of the period. In this manner the author lets us share in the conceptual image which Americans of 1810 had of their habitat. The reader may feel that the author, from the vantage point of present knowledge, could have given more by commenting on erroneous views held in 1810, or by comparing past and present circumstances. Indeed he could, but it would have destroyed the very purpose of the study.<sup>17</sup>

The style I have chosen permits the inclusion of commentary, and through the use of this approach, I believe the reader will relate more thoroughly to the past situation.

Some may feel that this study is too localized and too personal to be a real contribution to the field of historical geography. I believe that it has value because the conditions portrayed were representative of a larger area. Louis Seig appears to support studies such as this. He wrote of historical geography: "The approach may be either idiographic or nomothetic depending on the available data and the nature of the problem."<sup>18</sup> And I believe that this study succeeds more than most in placing the reader "in the position of a member of the cultural group at the time being studied."

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<sup>17</sup>Broek, *ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>18</sup>Seig, *ibid.*, p. 3.

In his introduction to Human Nature in Geography, John K. Wright indicated his conviction that:

geographical writing and teaching could be made more interesting, inspiring, and generally effective were there at least a few scholars who could and would treat geography as one of the humanities rather than exclusively as a natural or social or socio-natural science.<sup>19</sup>

I applaud the efforts of other historical geographers to apply various methods, such as quantitative analysis and model building, to geographic studies whenever they seem appropriate. But I also agree wholeheartedly with Dr. Wright that there is a place in the field of geography for an approach more commonly used in the humanities.

#### Organization

Because of the style of presentation, I have organized this dissertation in a somewhat different form. Background and explanatory materials are presented in this prologue. The body of the study is then set apart. Conclusions are given in an epilogue. The prologue and epilogue are handled in traditional style, but the body of the dissertation is written in a style which is informal and personal. In that section, footnotes at the bottom of each page seem to be out of character. I have, therefore, placed those notes at the end of that material. The vast majority of the notes merely identify a specific paper in

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<sup>19</sup>John Kirtland Wright, Human Nature in Geography (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 6-7.

the manuscript collection. Appendixes related to the main text also follow that section. The bibliography, which contains material pertaining to the entire work, is placed after the epilogue.

Most of the illustrations are incorporated in the body of the study and numbered consecutively within it. With the exception of the frontispiece, those essential to the prologue I have numbered separately with Roman numerals, as are the pages in that section. In this way the body can stand by itself as a unit of work. The list of sources for the figures presented in the body appears following the notes, again because it seems inappropriate to include that kind of detail on figures interspersed through an informal text.

Many direct quotations from private papers are included, and I have tried in all cases to reproduce the original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. In some instances the errors are numerous and to have inserted "sic" to identify them would have been cumbersome. I have, therefore, not used "sic" in any of the quotations, and you may assume that misspellings and other errors there were copied from the originals.

Within the main text, Chapters I and II are background material. Chapter I sets the theme and establishes the style of presentation. It also explains the arrangement of material. Chapter II covers the time the family

spent in Vermont and New York. It is a narrative which, by describing the route of the family migration and the factors affecting the moves, establishes their moves as part of a large scale migration of New Englanders westward through New York State into Michigan. According to the 1850 census, 48 percent of the heads of household in Armada Township had been born in New York and 34 percent in New England. Canada, with almost 7 percent, was the only other political unit listed which contributed more than 2 percent.

The family's attitudes toward migration and some of the reasons for moving are identified in Chapter II. Their activities in New England and in New York, so far as they can be determined, are also described. During the development of the farm in Michigan, some of those former activities were transplanted to the frontier, and commercial as well as personal contacts were maintained with individuals in the previous home areas. The more personal material included there introduces the members of the family and identifies them as "typical" New Englanders in some respects but quite unlike the stereotype in others. They displayed a sense of humor and flights of fancy which I had never associated with the deeply religious forefathers. Their failings in some instances also established them as totally human!

Chapter III is a compilation of material describing the study area in Michigan and attitudes toward the land at the time of settlement by whites. Much of the material is from standard sources. The field notes of the original survey, done in 1817 and 1818, contributed valuable information on soils and vegetation.<sup>20</sup> Further information on the condition of the timber was found in the field notebooks of Bela Hubbard, state geologist, who studied the area in 1840.<sup>21</sup> Two county histories provided some commentary about the landscape at that time.<sup>22</sup> Newspapers were also consulted for further information, but for the most part references were too general to be of much use. Most of the old newspapers that were published in the area began publication at a later date, and some of those that might have contained useful information were lost when files burned.

Evidence of former occupancy by Indians indicated that the environment in 1817 was not totally natural.

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<sup>20</sup>"United States Survey Field Notes," Lands Division Office, Michigan Department of Conservation, Lansing, Michigan.

<sup>21</sup>Bela Hubbard, "Geological Survey of Cos. of Shiawassee, Clinton, Barry, Macomb, St. Clair & Lapeer, May 21 to Sep. 22, 1840" (unpublished field notes, University of Michigan Historical Collections).

<sup>22</sup>Robert F. Eldredge, Past and Present of Macomb County, Michigan (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1905); M. A. Leeson, History of Macomb County, Michigan (Chicago: M. A. Leeson & Co., 1882).

Hinsdale's work on the Indians in Michigan provided some material specific enough to use here.<sup>23</sup>

The manuscript collection contains information on how the Andrews perceived the land and why they chose that particular area to settle. It also portrays the family's involvement in the speculation that prevailed at that time.

Chapter IV pieces together what is known of the transformation of the landscape--the time between wilderness and established farm. Actual activities carried out in accomplishing the task are described, and some of the problems encountered are reported. Most of this material comes from the manuscript collection.

In Chapter V an analysis is made of the established farm operation--the economy. Here especially the family farm records were of interest. They contain cost estimates of many phases of the operation and even essays analyzing and explaining various activities. So that a comparison can be made with other farms in the area, data from the manuscript census are included for the rest of Armada Township.<sup>24</sup>

The land; the economy; but what about society? Chapter VI completes the picture by focusing on the

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<sup>23</sup>Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Archaeological Atlas of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931), and Distribution of the Aboriginal Population of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932).

<sup>24</sup>"United States Census of the State of Michigan's Products of Agriculture, 1850," on file at The Archives, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan.

development of services of various kinds. Wherever possible, the sites of the service agencies and facilities used by the Andrews family have been identified. Some of the services were economic, some social. They were the ties that bound the family to the community. By plotting their distribution, one can identify and visualize the Andrews Bailiwick, the functional region which was of immediate concern to one American family in a newly developed area in the middle of the nineteenth century.



THE ANDREWS BAILIWICK

## CHAPTER I

### BY WAY OF EXPLANATION

To the members of the True clan:

We've all spent wonderful moments, even hours, rummaging through the storerooms and attic at the farm and heard from Mother many stories about certain pieces of furniture or mementos stored there. Having spent whole summers at the farm recently, I've had more opportunity than the rest of you to look through things in detail, especially two large boxes of old letters and papers. We've always teased Mother about never throwing anything away, and apparently her predecessors in the house were the same way. They saved many of the letters they received and, in some instances, drafts of letters they sent. Accounts were kept and some copies of deeds and contracts were saved. Favorite poems and recipes were copied and tucked away. And just as we all have things left at the farm for storage, members of previous generations left things when they moved away.

Old letters are not always interesting, but many of these are intriguing and informative. The people who wrote these were generally well educated, actively involved in the community, and concerned with local and national

affairs. Their personalities shine through. One letter that I located fairly early in the poking around really aroused my interest. It raised some questions in my mind about the area around home when it was settled and spurred me on to look for answers. Other letters produced some of the answers (and also raised more questions), but sometimes I had to go to different sources for additional information. Despite considerable searching, some of the questions are still unanswered.

The letter that started me digging was written to our great great grandfather, Elisha Deming Andrews, who was a minister, land agent, and farmer. He is the one who moved the family from Vermont to New York State and then finally to Michigan to take up land from the government and establish the farms on which the family lived (Figure 1). Part of the land he bought is the farm we grew up on. The letter was written to Elisha by a friend and former minister who had preceded him to Michigan and was living there near Romeo. Mr. Taylor wrote Elisha to tell him what he was getting into--what conditions existed in that part of Michigan and what someone settling there should bring with him. The letter is a fairly long one, but I think you'll understand, when you have read it, why I was fascinated.

Romeo, Dec. 17th 1832

Rev. & Dear Sir,

I yesterday received yours dated Nov. 23d. I was much gratified in receiving a letter from you. I had heard nothing from you since I left Mendon: nor anything from there for many months. I now feel

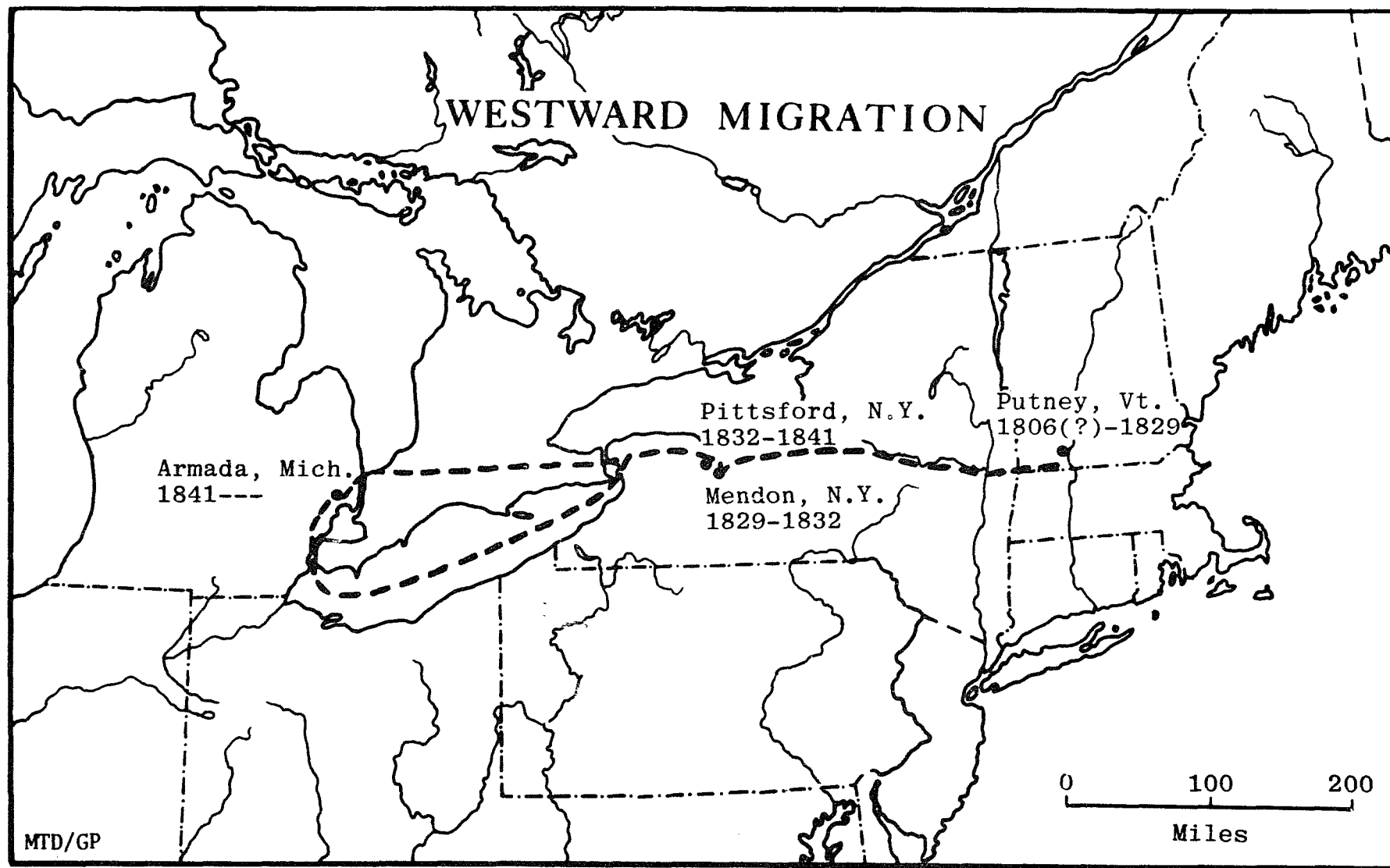


Figure 1. Westward migration of the Andrews family.

anxious to hear farther from my sons family: but I conclude that nothing serious or rather calamitous has taken place--otherwise, probably, my son would have written before this.--

You ask how we like Michigan, and how we get along? I know as yet but a little about the particular state and condition of the Territory. The people generally as is the case in all new countries appear to be very industrious and friendly. And the lands are settling rapidly--In process of time, and at no great distance this will, without doubt, be a rich and flourishing state in the union. In my circle I can say that I am much pleased with most of the Inhabitants. Generally, they are industrious, moral young men with small families. I have a meeting every other sabbath at my house--at which from 50 to 70 attend--and 2 miles west I have a meeting also every other sabbath--at which about 50 or 60 attend. These people at both places have emigrated to this Territory, nearly all of them within 2 years--and most of them within a year. I have had one communion--and found 13 members who partook--2 or 3 were necessarily detained. There is good attention to preaching. We have, however, a few loose characters who attend no meetings. We have, 3 excellent Scotch families who came in in Augt. last--they have purchased nine lots near me--they are strong handed and are making great openings--some of them are wealthy--The father was an Elder in one of the chhs in Ayrshire, and is a valuable man. he has a son of public education--and is a physician. He has 2 other sons young men and 2 daughters. The minds of this family are much improved by education and reading. Upon the whole I feel myself happily situated as respects society, far beyond my expectations. As to the goodness of our lands, we have made no mistake. There can be none better--We have not got so much cleared and into wheat as we intended, in consequence of having so much to do to make our house comfortable. We have however got in 16 acres of wheat, which looks well and have broke up for spring crops 8 or 9 acres--and several beside cleared ready for the plough. We calculate that next season we shall take crops from about 40 acres beside a pasture of ten acres. With respect to living we are as comfortable here as we were in Mendon--apples excepted. But to ballance this we have the best of venison--and enough of it--one of my neighbours within a year and 4 months has killed 48--and perhaps more within a few days.--I see them every day or 2, but I am no Nimrod.

Now for your questions respecting your own concerns. My son John thinks, if your timber is handy--that you had better build a good log house it will be comfortable--and will be useful many years.

But few other houses in this region. If your young man should come on--and cut the timber--and hire cattle to draw it--then get a man acquainted with the business to assist him--and get it up, he can do the remainder of the work himself--he will have to get 2000 feet of boards--which will cost according to their goodness, 5-6-7-or 8 Dollar per 1000--beside the waggoning or slaying. Shingles you can calculate when you fix upon the dimentions of your building--12 s. 1000.--I should think that 16 feet by 23 would be large eno' for a small family--how such a building could be built by the Job, I know not. I hope the young man will come on and go to work--I think it would be better for him, and for you.

Oxen and cows are about 1/5 higher here than they were in Mendon when we left.

The quickest and cheapest way to move a family is by water.

Bring no wheat--it is cheaper here than there--bring as much pork as you please--it is scarce here and is dear--and not good--Ohio pork is miserable and that is all that can be bought here.

Farming tools of all kinds had better be brought, they are much dearer here--and far from being as good as those made among you. Get a strong plough with a coulter /cutter to cut the turf/ and wrought Iron share well steeled. A wheel under the beam is of great use, but that had better be put on here. It requires 2 yoke of oxen to break up the land well.

Perhaps you had better send on grass seed--clover seed is not to be had here--and herds grass is here \$2 per bushel.--It will be difficult to winter much stock the first year--hay is \$7 per ton--I do not at present think of any farther information that will be necessary. As respects taxes we can give you no information--we have never been called upon for any taxes as yet--except highway--I will, as I have opportunity, make enquiries respecting taxes--and give you notice if I find it necessary.

Now for mud--I am very sorry that gent of my acquaintance--and ministers too and on the sabbath, should fall into the mud--but this seems to have happened in open daylight--these things look dark--I am fearful you were thinking about politics--and that in your reveries you were anticipating the mud and mire in which all will be involved in less than 4 years--but I think it best to take the plunge in good nature when we cant avoid it--whenever this happens I think it will be harder work to clense ourselves from our political impurities than from the clay and mortar of Pittsford streets.

One thing I forgot to mention in its proper place--The whole face of the country here as far as I

have traveled in the woods is covered with corn hills /small mounds of dirt in which the Indians planted corn/--which is an evidence of the goodness of the land--and that it has been tilled by a vast population in some ancient time.

On the road that is laid from my land to yours there are now 3 good families--and more are going in in the spring. Your land is of a same quality with ours, but I should advise you, in the spring to purchase a good timber lot--it is the language of all acquainted with your purchase that you have not a sufficiency of timber for such a tract of open land.--I must close--family is in usual health--Miss Cloe Leech has been sick but is convalescent and recovering fast--she sends her respects to you and love to family. Mrs Taylor with myself desire to be remembered with affection to your wife and family--so also my son and his wife.

Yours affectionately

John Taylor

Snow fell last night about 3 inches.--Dec. hitherto, has been very mild--but in general cloudy. We have had 2 little flights of snow--which lay 3 or 4 days--the ground has been open untill now--and free from frost. Be pleased to fetch me at least 100 scions of the best kind of apples in your neighbourhood. Tell your neighbour Lusk I would thank him to send me 30 or 40 scions of his great apples.--If you will fetch me a bushel of dried apples when you come up you shall receive your reward.

J.T.

Isn't that great? There are so many things that show through that letter: New England attitudes, a concern for "society," the importance of the church, the respect for education, the concern over politics. And yet there is the practical side attending to the basic necessities of food and shelter.

Going through the letters and other papers has sometimes seemed like an unending job. I haven't counted them, but there are certainly several hundred. They were all just stuffed in the boxes without sorting or arranging. Mother and I gradually sorted them by writer or subject and

filed them chronologically, so they are now easier to work with. I found, however, that I had to go through them more than once, and I kept going back to check something or other. A remark would be made in one letter that meant little when first read; then later on another letter would contain a sentence that gave it meaning. Each time I went through them I caught something I had passed over before. In some instances I have changed my interpretation of an incident. All this means, of course, that in spite of all this work I still cannot be positive of having a completely accurate picture of their situation.

At least all the letters and miscellaneous papers are now collected and arranged. There are enough of them from a variety of family members, friends, and business associates that I can put together a remarkably complete description of a period well over a hundred years ago. The papers contain a fascinating account of the early settlement and development of our home area as well as a revealing introduction to our ancestors and some of their acquaintances.

Because I believe all of you would appreciate this material and the information it contains, I decided to summarize it, telling as much as I can from the letters themselves and occasionally, when something was unclear there, including material from other sources--county histories, government records, newspaper articles. This volume is the result. I was reasonably sure that none of



you would have the time (and perhaps not the inclination) to wade through the original letters, but hopefully you can, through this book, know our family better and look through their eyes at their move to the west. Naturally, I've selected the comments from the letters that seemed most revealing to me about the subjects that interest me particularly--the personalities of the people, descriptions of the land, the development of the farm, and the family's community activities. I think you'll find them interesting, too.

So that you can keep track of who's who, the first step must be a brief introduction to the family members most involved, with some background material on their lives prior to the move to Michigan. Then I'll go on to their decision to move, the selection and purchase of land, its development, and the process of turning a wilderness into profitable farm land and a pleasant community. For easy reference, I've listed on the next page the people most directly involved (shades of Dr. Zhivago!); in addition, if you want to check more on the details of the family tree, I have added that kind of information in the appendix.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Relationship</u>
Elisha Deming Andrews - - - -	Our great great grandfather and head of the principal family involved.
Betsey Lathrop Andrews - - -	Elisha's wife, our great great grandmother.
Seth Lathrop Andrews )	
Anne Amelia Andrews )	
Joseph Lathrop Andrews ) - - -	Children of Elisha and
Charles Andrews )	Betsey; Anne is our great
Edmund (Ned) Andrews )	grandmother.
George Andrews )	
Edward Lathrop - - - - -	Brother of Betsey Andrews.
Emma Andrews Lathrop - - - -	Wife of Edward and sister of Elisha.
Charles Lathrop )	
Seth Lathrop ) - - - - -	The three older Lathrop
Jane Lathrop )	children (there were eleven altogether).
Solomon Lathrop - - - - -	Brother to Betsey and Edward; he moved with them to Michigan.
Samuel Lathrop - - - - -	Uncle to Betsey and Edward.
Eleazer W. True - - - - -	Our great grandfather; husband of Anne Amelia Andrews.
Daniel True )	
Joseph True ) - - - - -	Eleazer's brothers and
Betsey True )	sister.
John Taylor - - - - -	Close friend of Elisha's, who preceded him to Michigan.
Henry TenEyck - - - - -	First tenant on Elisha's Michigan land.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FAMILY AND ITS BACKGROUND IN VERMONT AND NEW YORK

Most of the correspondence relates to the family headed by Elisha Deming Andrews, our great great grandfather, who was born in Southington, Connecticut, in 1783. After graduating from Yale College in 1803, he moved to Putney, Vermont (Figure 2), where he spent about twenty-three years as minister of the Congregational Church. He married Betsey Lathrop of West Springfield, Massachusetts, a granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lathrop, who was Elisha's advisor on religious affairs. Although Elisha was primarily a minister, he bought and operated a farm which was home to the family.

#### Family and Friends

Elisha and Betsey had eight children, two of whom died in infancy. Of the remaining six, the oldest, Seth, studied at Andover and Dartmouth and then taught briefly before becoming a medical doctor. He spent twelve years as a medical missionary in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). Not long before sailing to the Sandwich Islands, he married Parnelly Pierce, who bore him four children. Their whole

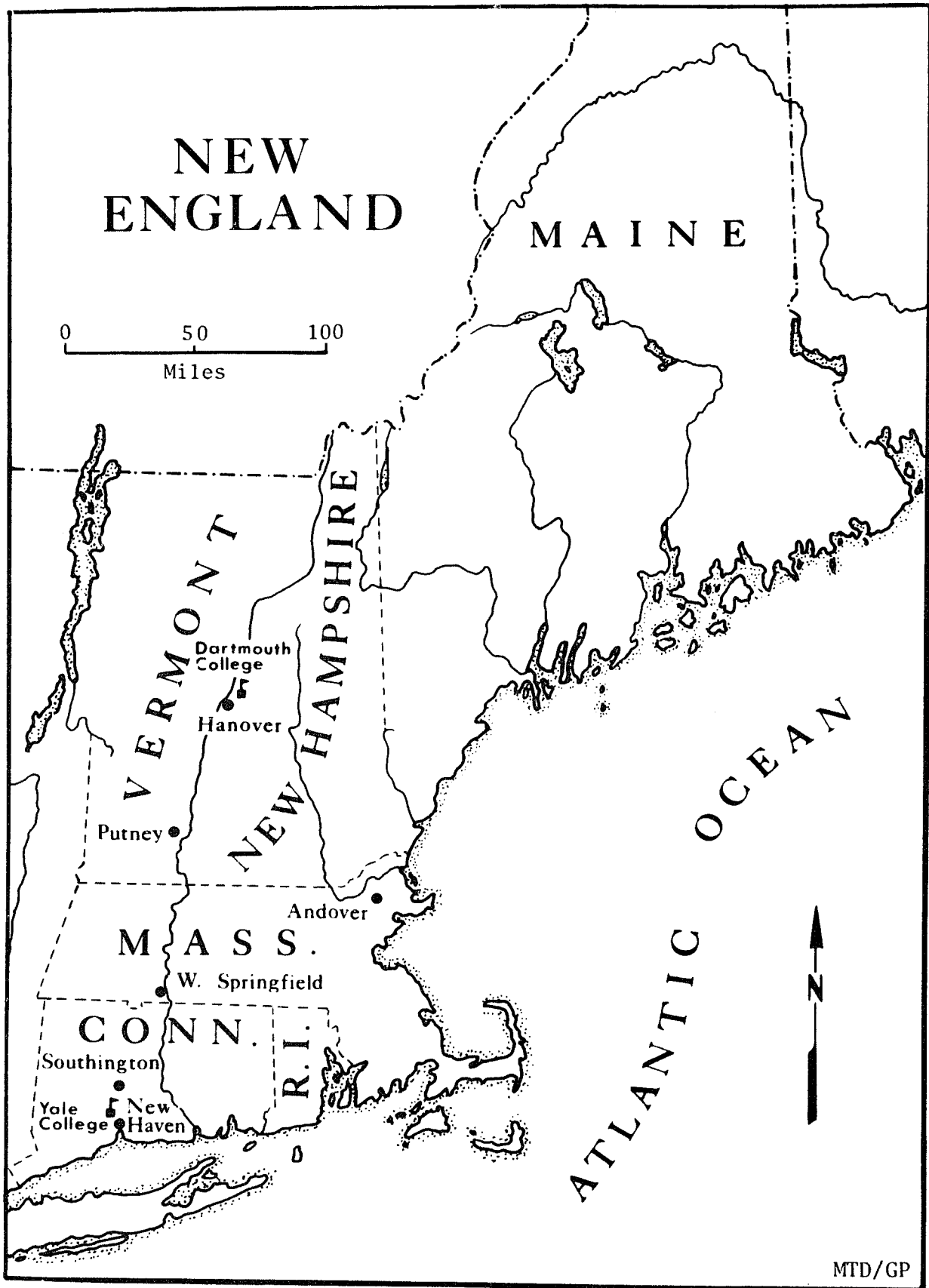


Figure 2. Reference map of New England.

family suffered a great deal from various illnesses, and Parnelly and three of their children died on the Islands. Seth, in poor health himself, returned home with his remaining child, George, in 1848. Later he remarried and set up medical practice in Romeo, Michigan.

Anne Amelia Andrews was next oldest and was our great grandmother. She attended the female seminary in Canandaigua, New York, then did some teaching, but was at home most of the time until her marriage to Eleazer Wells True, also a teacher. They had known each other for many years, both in New York and in Michigan, but did not marry until 1847 when she was thirty-six and he was forty. Eleazer was always referred to as Mr. True, even in Anne's diary, and Mother reports that he was always so addressed, even in the immediate family. In his pictures he looks like the sourest, grouchiest man imaginable, but his family described him as having a rare sense of humor. I wonder whether the "rare" referred to the quality of his humor or to the frequency of its appearance! Mr. True conducted a private school for a few years, but he eventually took over the operation of the farm which had been their wedding present from Elisha.

There are letters from some of the True siblings-- Daniel, Joseph, and Betsey. The Trues were from Maine but had moved to New York and then westward, though not all to the same place.

The other four Andrews children were all sons. The next oldest, Joseph, was less fortunate than the rest. He suffered brain damage during a period of prolonged high fever. In 1851 Elisha wrote that he:

has long been an invalid, subject to mental derangement and for a year was a raving maniac so that we had to keep him in close confinement. He is now composed and quiet, and devotes most of his time to reading medical Books, to which he is so enthusiastically attached, as to constitute a monomania.<sup>1</sup>

Anne took care of him after their parents died, and the brothers all contributed to his support. Letters to "Josie" from them and later from nieces and nephews all display great affection and concern for him.

Charles became a successful farmer on part of Elisha's original purchase in Michigan and also served briefly as a state senator. Edmund (Ned) studied medicine at the University of Michigan, was an anatomy professor there for awhile, and then became a highly successful surgeon in Chicago. He was influential in starting the medical school at Northwestern University and also in developing the Museum of Natural Science. George helped his father farm for a few years, then studied law in Detroit, practiced in Knoxville, Tennessee, served as a United States District Attorney and finally was a justice of the Tennessee State Supreme Court.

#### New England Background

The members of the family all seemed to be very close, and their warmth and a great sense of humor are most

obvious in their letters. The basis for their closeness must have been established in Putney, although there is little in the records from that period. Among the few references to their early childhood are some found in letters that Ned wrote in 1886, after he had made a sentimental journey back to Vermont. I was especially touched by two letters, one to Charles and one to Anne. In 1888 Ned hired a commercial photographer to take pictures of familiar places around Putney (Figure 3), and he sent these to his brother and sister. The old home and barns were gone, so he could not include pictures of those, but the town and countryside are shown (Figure 4). Ned had looked for souvenirs to send, and it is about these that he wrote.

Nov. 18, 1886

Dear Charlie,

When in Putney last summer I strolled up our old home brook /Figure 57, where the ends of father's old irrigation ditches still remain. I tried to find some pretty pebble or something for a memento to send you but without brilliant success. However you remember down at the edge of the meadow the brook spread out into a pool under the arching bushes, where we used to swim,--or paddle. Well, I picked up a little piece of white quartz, in the bottom where our naked feet may have pressed it. I had a lapidary cut off a little slab of it to set in my box, and also cut out a pair of sleeve buttons for you, which I send by express herewith. There are curious alternating bands or clouds of white and transparent quartz in it, which look rather pretty in my eyes, though not conspicuous to a careless glance. I believe you will enjoy them for the sake of their origin in our old brook.

We are well & all send love,  
Ned.

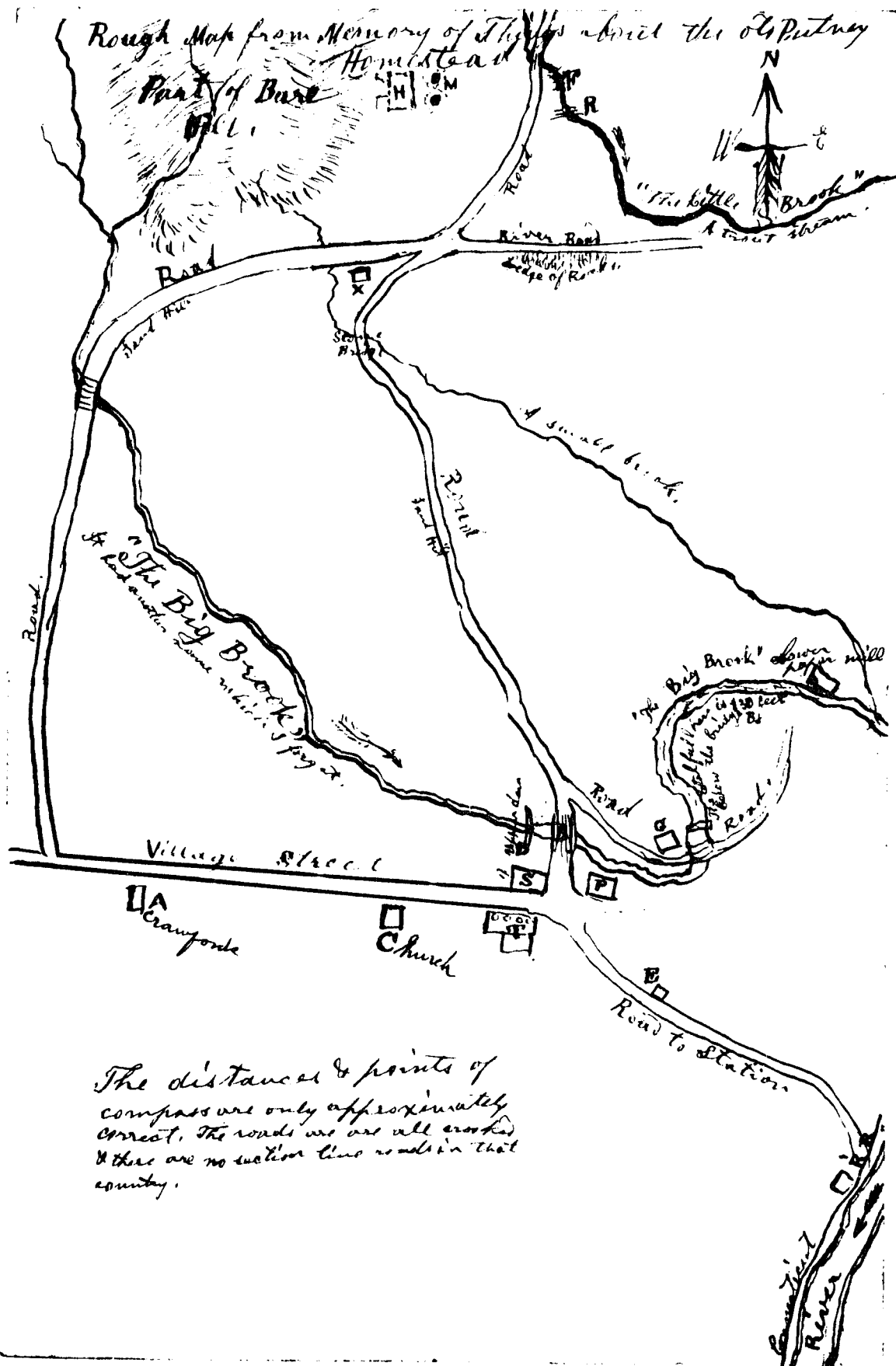
P.S. The following is a postscript to the history of the stone. If it isnt externally a literal truth, maybe it "sort of true inside."

You know the streams winding among those hills are often under the care of brook-sprites, who have a

Figure 3. Ned's sketch map of Putney, Vermont.  
On it he indicated the location of places which were  
photographed:

A	David Crawford's
B	Bridge
C	Church
D	Dam
E	Emory Mason's
F	Cascade in brook
G	Grist mill
H	Old house
M	Maples
P	Paper mill
R	Cart road crossing
S	Corner store
T	Tavern
X	Old school house





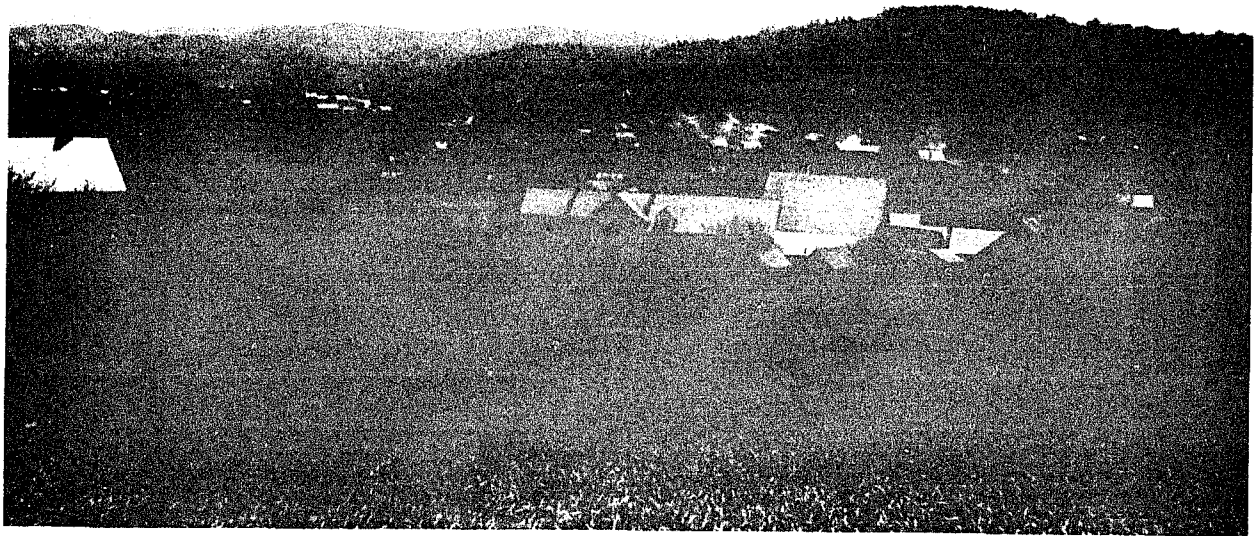


Figure 4. View of the village of Putney from the family garden.



Figure 5. The brook where the Andrews children used to play.

care for the beauty of the brooks, & take an interest in the enjoyment of everything along their margins. Well--you remember too the falls up the brook. They are higher than my memory painted, being in fact about 20 ft, & overarched with trees as of yore.

You see, the brook sprite lives there, or rather the entry to her home is there behind a silvery sheet of spray. It looks merely like a deep crevice in the rock, but it leads far back westward into the heart of Bare Hill, where she has a suite of cavernous apartments, lighted with phosphorescent crystals. There are groves of trees, whose trunks are stalactites, the leaves emeralds, & the fruits are crystals of that splendid & rare emerald green flour spar, which father found. His discovery was merely a few of these fallen fruits, washed out by the outlet of the little lake on whose margin the trees stand, in the middle of the group of caverns.

Well this is getting prosy, since you knew all about it before. This summer, I wandered up to the falls, & sat down in the little cool gorge to rest, leaning back against the rock. I took the little quartz stone out of my pocket, & began to examine it, especially the little wayward alternating bands of whiteness & transparency. A voice--very soft--like a mingled sound of wind & plashing water--said, "Do you know what those bands are?" I looked up, & there across the little gorge not five feet from me sat our brook sprite on a mossy stone--faint, & dim, but real. I replied, "No, I don't quite understand it." "Well"--she said--"that is one of my record stones. Many years ago there were some little chattering children, Andrews by name, who lived down yonder. They used in the summer to come down & play in my brook, & in the winter they came over the snow on their sleds. It was part of my duty to prevent them from getting hurt about my brook, & it was pleasant to see them, so I used to keep a record of their coming. Every summer I used to crystalize some of the brook water into a layer of transparent stone, so the clear bands in the pebble count the summers these children spent about the brook. Every winter, when the snow brought them down on their sleds, I laid on a white band. So the clear bands show the summers, & the white bands the winters which the frolicking Andrews children spent there. I seem to see their mother now, as she used to bring them to the front door of the house & send them toddling down the orchard, looking after them as they went,--shading her eyes with her hand as she stood in the doorway.

After a few years they went away. I was grieved, & threw the record stone into the pool where they used to swim. Then she suddenly looked at me more earnestly, & added, "By the bright waterfalls! I

believe you are one of them--but you don't look as pretty as you used to." Then her form got more misty & seemed to recede into the crevice behind the spray & disappeared. I sat there a long time, & had a nap leaning on the rock, but I did not see her again.

So you see how the soft cloud bands came to be in the stone, & how it happened that the number of bands is about the same as the summers & winters we spent about the dear old brook. Really, I didnt feel like throwing the stone away after that, so I had it cut into a pair of sleeve buttons for you.

Ned

And to Anne:

April 1887

Ma Soeur Tres Ainee,

Isaac Puffer of Putney, when he pulled down our old house, made an exception in favor of the projection at the S.W. corner where the bedroom was. He moved that bodily to his new location & it stands there yet, a kind of catch-all tool house, with its old plastering, etc unchanged. I pulled out an old fashioned hand made wrought nail from a cleat on the wall, one of a row of nails on which mother used to hang things. Now I said to myself, behold this old nail shall be glorified. So I have had it straightened, & polished, & gilded, & a pin attached to it, wherewith you can pin your shawl, or whatever else is customarily done with pins, and I send it herewith by express in memory of the old house in the hills, lest for want of a relic you grow negligent, & forget the "spot where we was born on."

With much love,

Ned.

P.S. When I entered the old tool house or bedroom, I was dreamy with memories, but looking around I saw this nail nodding & wagging its head, & trying to wink, & as I approached to see what it wanted, it remarked in a clinky voice, "There used to be a little black haired girl flouncing about here,--up to mischief generally. One day she tried to take down her mother's dress, hanging on me, & she scratched her hand on my head. She cried & hopped around the room, & looked so pretty with her black eyes full of tears, that I have wanted all these years to see her again."

I said she's all right, come with me & you shall go & stay with her the rest of your little wrought iron days. So I pulld it out of the cleat & put it in my pocket, & here it is.

N.

These letters certainly don't sound as if they had been written by the stereotyped straight-laced, no-nonsense New Englander!

Putney may have had great sentimental significance for them, but like so much of New England, the area was a real challenge to a farmer. The village is located about a mile from the Connecticut River and extends along the valley of a tributary stream, Sacketts Brook (Figure 6). The hills on either side of the brook rise eight or nine hundred feet above the valley in a distance of one and a half to two miles. Ned described the area as follows when he visited there in 1886:

This is a very pretty township in point of scenery & the soil is good. Even wheat grows here now. The hills seem high. The gorge of the big brook by my barometer is 130 feet deep, from the top of the upper dam above the bridge down to the water below the last tumble. The old grist mill is there, & sundry other factory concerns above & below it [Figure 7].<sup>2</sup>

When the family moved from Putney to New York State in 1829, Anne and Seth had some discussion about the relative merits of the two areas. Anne thought New York was an improvement, while Seth still preferred the old home. Ned's comment about growing wheat "now" confirms a comment in a letter from Seth to Anne written July 19, 1831:

regards the beauty of N.Y. & Con. river, I could not imagine, when I was in N.Y., what had perverted your tastes so much, but have come to the conclusion that it must be owing to a change of diet; having been accustomed to live on rye, when you came to live on wheat you found it so much better, that you at once concluded the country was better.

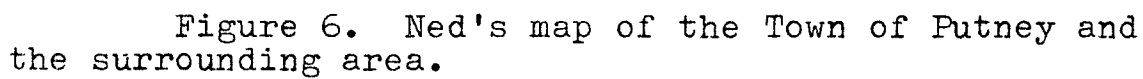




Figure 7. Grist mill and dam in Putney, Vermont.



So while the Putney area may have had the edge in beauty, their New York home must have been an easier and more rewarding area to farm.

The farm in Vermont may have presented some difficulties in operation because of fragmentation, although one piece of it contained seventy-five acres. The typical New England town system of development was used there, as is evident in the deed to the farm which Elisha bought in 1815. He had purchased other small lots in 1810 and 1813, but the portion of a deed quoted below illustrates especially well some of the characteristics of the town system and of metes and bounds descriptions.

Know All Men by these presents, that I Jeremiah Ryan of Putney in the County of Windham in the state of Vermont, for and in consideration of the sum of one thousand three Hundred dollars current money of the United States received to my full satisfaction of Elisha D. Andrews of Putney aforesaid the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have given granted, bargained & sold and by these presents do give grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, convey & confirm unto the said Andrews his heirs and assigns forever certain pieces or parcels of land lying and being in Putney. Viz one piece containing ninety five square rods of land described as follows, beginning at the North East corner of the old part of the Barn on the stage road thence south 15 degrees west through the barn seventeen rods to the road leading to Robins Ferry (socalld) thence northwesterly on the East line of said road seventeen rods 18 links to the stage road, thence easterly on the south line of the stage road to the place of Beginning, with the old part of the Barn thereon standing.

Also, a certain other piece of land containing seventy five acres lying East of the road leading to Robbins Ferry and on the south line of lot No 20 in the 5th Range of fifty acre lots, Beginning on said road, thence East 10 degrees south one hundred and thirty eight rods and on half to a stake and stones; thence Northerly on the east line of said lot seventy six and an half rods to a stake and stones, thence west

ten degrees North to the road aforesaid, thence southerly on the East line of said road to the place of beginning.

Also one other piece of land, called the House lot, lying west of the stage road, it being my part of the House lot as set to me by Commissioners of the Court of Probate with the buildings and appertainances thereunto belonging, also the additional Half of the upper part of the House as conveyed to me by Eliphalet Whitney Junr.<sup>3</sup>

There is not much information on the farming activities in Vermont in the family papers. As mentioned before, they must have grown rye instead of wheat. Also, many years later Elisha stated that he had raised sheep for forty years.<sup>4</sup> Certainly they harvested grass. One interesting paper about that remains and indicates that Elisha was inventive and enterprising in his activities. It is a draft labeled "For the New England Farmer," and it explains those irrigation ditches Ned referred to.

I own a farm in the hilly parts of Vermont /Figure 8/, through which a small brook runs, by which I have irrigated my lands to very great advantage. Where I have carried the water my crops of grass have been doubled, and in some places increased three or four fold.

Some pieces on which two years ago, the grass was hardly worth mowing, this year yielded grass that lodged so that I was obliged to cut it two weeks before the usual time of mowing; and from the same ground I cut a heavy second crop.

I have lately cut a canal of two furrows, sixty or seventy rods, for the double purpose of irrigating my own lands, and of filling my neighbors well. The latter object was completely effected. By spreading the water over the ground for some rods above the well, tho it had been dry two or three months, in three or four days, it had ten or twelve feet of water.

A little practice has taught me that water may be carried, where a few years ago I should have supposed it impossible to carry it; and some of my neighbors have said that I actually have carried it up hill.



Figure 8. View of meadows and Bare Hill from the village of Putney. The Andrews farm was on the opposite side of Bare Hill.

The process is very simple and easy, if you are provided with a proper implement to lay out the canals. They cannot be drawn with any success merely by the eye, or by guess.

The only instrument, that I have as yet made use of, is a very simple one that any farmer may make in ten minutes. I took a thick piece of board about six inches square, thro the centre of this bored a hole & put in a staff about 3-1/2 feet long with the lower end sharpened to stick into the ground. Upon this standard I lay a larger board planed smooth, for instance such as my wife turns her cheeses upon. I then turn water upon the surface and turn the board so that the water will run very moderately in the direction I wish to lay the canal.

I begin my operations by making a dam across the stream, with stone or other materials from one to two feet high. When I make the dam with stone I lay the largest stone at the bottom, and the second tier I draw back up stream six inches or a foot if I have bottom stone large enough, so that the lower stones may project far enough to recieve the flood-water when it pitches over the dam. This will prevent a deep hole being worn out below, which might endanger the dam and do other mischief. I then begin the canal on the bank keeping it level and choose to make the lower side with stone till I get beyond the reach of high water, as earth would be washed away. If the bank of the stream is a rock and too high to raise a dam over it, a trough of boards or plank may be used to convey the water till you can find suitable ground to begin the canal. I then set my instrument for leveling so as to range with the surface of the water in the pond, and then by looking across the board I see at once where the canal must be cut. I then send a man with a hoe, beginning at the upper end of the canal to make marks in the turf to direct its course. These marks, if the ground be quite even may be a rod apart, but if it be uneven they should be as high as three or four feet, for I find that on uneven ground, if they are distant, there is danger of running the channel either too high or too low and thus of increasing the labor of making the canal.

After having marked out a suitable portion of the canal, I put in the plow so as to turn the furrow down hill, and carefully keep it upon the line of the marks, and after drawing about two furrows clear out with a hoe, and this will make a canal sufficient to carry water to a great extent. and two men with a team will make from one to two hundred rods in a day.

This canal being nearly level will not be gullied out by a swift current; you may dam it and overflow it where you please, or which is better, put

in the bank a piece of board with an auger hole in it to let out such a quantity of water as you please. The ground below will be soaked full of water and springs will often be made many rods below. To catch the waste water & carry it where it will be most useful a number of canals one below another may be made as necessity requires.

Canals of this kind can be made at a very little expense, and a very little attention will keep them in repair. One dollar laid out in this way will with a little care yield five dollars a year for ever. In those parts of the country which abound with hills and streams the water rightly applied I have no doubt would increase the value of our produce enough to pay taxes of every species and to defray all our public expenses.

I had not thought of Vermont as deficient in moisture and in need of irrigation, but a decrease in water supply in the summer was indicated in one of Ned's letters discussing instructions to the photographer. He says:

the pictures ought to be taken as quick as the leaves are on the trees, & before the brooks are too much dried up. The clearing of the woods plowing the ground on so many of the Vermont hills & valleys lets the water run off early in the season, & leaves the streams & cascades very feeble in August.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the success or lack of it in farming, Elisha's first call was to the ministry, and basically it was a change there that caused him to make a move to New York. Some minutes of church meetings indicate trouble between two groups in the church, although the information is not complete enough to figure out the basis of the difficulty. Elisha said, however, in a letter written years later:

I was settled in the ministry about 23 years in Vermont, and probably had as much peace and mutual good feeling as is the ordinary lot of my brethren. A division in the society induced me to ask a dismission in 1829. I removed to the state of N. Y. 8 miles from

Rochester, where I remained 12 years, a part of the time with a pastoral charge and part of the time on a farm, where I endeavoured by precept & example to teach my young boys habits of industry and agricultural knowledge in which I was not altogether unsuccessful.<sup>6</sup>

Admittedly the information for this early period in Vermont is sketchy, but it provides some insight into the family and their situation. When he resigned from his pastoral position in 1829, Elisha sought another assignment. The western part of New York State was developing rapidly, and it was there that he found a promising site to settle.

#### Migration to New York

Elisha had spent most of June and the early part of July 1828 traveling in New York State. He gave no indication of his reason for the trip. Perhaps he could foresee the schism in his church and was investigating possible new locations. Or he could have been considering moving to greener pastures, as had some of his friends, without any unusual reasons for leaving Vermont. Maybe this was just a pleasure trip. Certainly he visited many friends and acquaintances in a number of different places, and he also "saw the sights."

Two of the letters he wrote Betsey while on the trip are in the collection, and they are filled with interesting descriptions of the area, methods of travel, and the people he met. I have deleted most of his references to old friends and the state of their health, but I am

including all his comments of general interest. By way of explaining his references to papers sent, the family used newspapers as messages; when they arrived somewhere, they mailed a paper to indicate their safe arrival at that spot. Location of places mentioned in his letters are indicated in Figure 9.

Utica June 13th 1828 Frid. Morning

My Dear

I arrived here last evening, in the Midst of a hard shower, in good health. I had last evening only time to dispatch to you a Utica Paper. I have so far had a prosperous journey and a pleasant one except some bad roads and crowded coaches. I have travelled wholly by the stage, as it would give me a better opportunity to see the country, and a more delightful country I should think could not be found on this dirty planet. The valey of the Mowhawk is very fine the whole distance except about the little falls, which is a place of considerable business. The intervals upon the river are very fine, extensive in many places, and not interrupted as on the Connecticut. From this to Herkimer, fifteen miles, we travelled over a rich alluvial soil to every appearance equal to the best intervals on Connecticut or Deerfield Rivers. Such fields of wheat I have seen as I never saw before. Many of them are extensive and as stout as they can grow, in very many instances it is already lodged. Yet this is not so much of a wheat country as some to the west. As to the moral & religious condition of the country I have as yet been able to make a few observations. This I can say, I have found very civil houses and company. No drinking, no swearing except by some ostler or low character.

. . . . . Thursday 11 o clock. . . . This place is all business & Bustle. The moving of boats, the sounding of bugles, the ringing of packet bells, the coaches & the throng in the streets have a kind of holiday appearance & remind one of the busy scenes of New York. Everything here is neat & elegant. The buildings are none of them in a state of decay and many of them elegant.

Hamilton College, Clinton, Saturday Morning

It is a delightful morning, and I am on the most delightful spot I ever set eyes on. I cannot see how one feature of the natural scenery could be

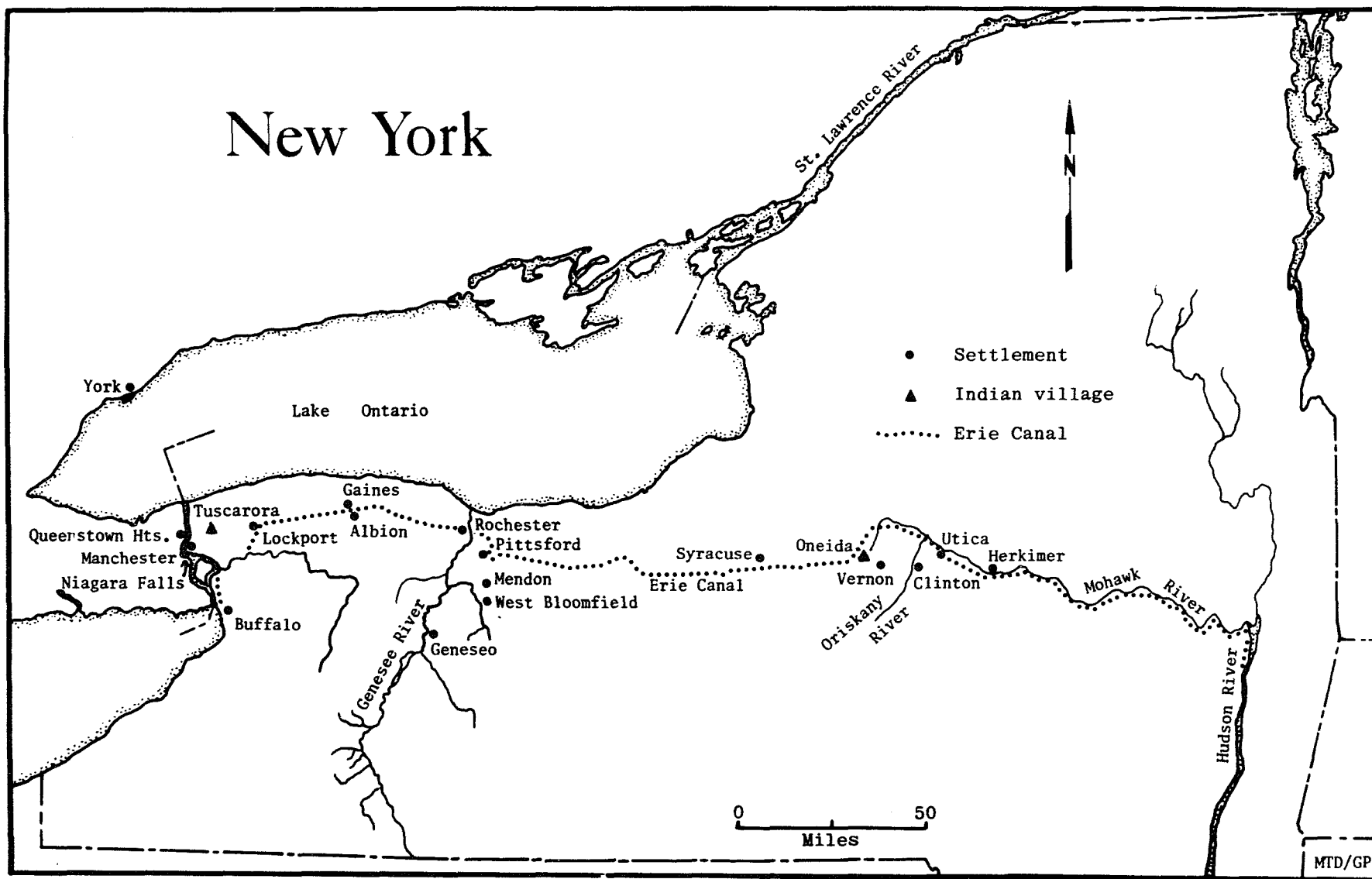


Figure 9. Reference map of New York State.



altered for the better. The college buildings are extensive & beautiful, resembling Yale except that they are of stone painted white. They have a beautiful & extensive yard. They stand on a considerable eminence which has a commanding & most delightful country around it. The . . . broad, rich & fertile valey of the Oriscany lies before it in full view, on the east side of the valey 1-1/2 mile distant is the pleasant village of Clinton, and on the east side of the valey the country is gently assending so as to present to the best advantage extensive well cultivated fields, groves of wood and handsome farm houses.

The husbandry is good, everything is neat & in good order, differing in this respect from the rich valey of the Mohawk inhabited by the Dutch. The hills on that valy rise more abruptly & are not by any means so pleasant.

. . . . .  
I can write to you but a sketch. You see I grow feverish. They say the country is more delightful to the west. If so my next letter may be in poetry.  
. . . . .

Saturday 6 o'clock P. M.

I have now arrived at Vernon 17 miles west of Utica where I expect to spend the Sabbath with a clergyman who appears to be a good man. Monday morning I expect to continue my rout in the stage to the west, and shall not probably arrive at Rochester till about the close of the week. My visit to Hamilton College has been a very pleasant one. . . . Doct. Davis as there was no stage to this place sent his chaise 8 miles to bring me to this place a civility which I should have declined except from the cordiality with which it was offered. He proffers me any assistance in his power should I be in a situation to need it. Love to all the family. I am within five miles of Oneida the Indian settlement and the natives have a number of them just passed. They look a little superior to the vagrant Indians of Connecticut, But appear to be a wretched set of people, tho they have a fine country & enough of it to render every man in the tribe independent. I have but little more paper and can only say I should be very glad to see you; and bid you once more good bye.

E. D. Andrews

There must have been at least one more letter between the one just quoted and the one which follows. I wish we could find that one, since it covered the part of

New York to which they eventually moved. The next one is also very interesting, however.

Manchester village, American side of Niagara Falls  
My Dearest

My last was sent from W. Bloomfield. Thence I was carried by Mr. Arnold to Rochester. . . . Rochester is a place of great business. We see here an elegant town surrounded by stumps & trees and other marks of a recently subdued forrest. The country west of Rochester is wild. There is much unsettled land, and not a few log houses. From Rochester I went on the canal as far as Lock Port. This is a thriving vilage. The Locks are a superb work of Masonry & look as if they would stand for ages. The excavation of the solid rock for miles in length & 20 feet deep looks like a work too great for human skill. The masses of rock thrown out upon the banks look more like mountains than anything I have seen in this western country. . . . From Lockport I took the stage for Tuscarora. . . . The Tuscaroras are some of them interesting. The chief & one of his sons came in & could talk in English. Many of them have cultivated fields, horses, oxen, cows, sheep, &c. Their children look bright & intiligent and I am told that many of them make good proficiency in learning. A few of them are pious & exemplary members of the church.

The country through which I have passed is very rich & fertile. It appears to lie upon Horizontal strata of limestone, and of course is a flat country, without any of those steep & rough ascents that we see in New England. From queenstown Heights a few miles below the falls there runs a hill, or mountain ridge as it is called, east beyond the Genesee river. This hill is formed by the horizontal strata of limestone being suddenly cropped off and making a hill of 100 or more feet in Height. All above this hill is a flat or gently undating country, or what is called table land. Below the hill is also a country still more flat or level, & was doubtless the bed of a lake before the Barriers were worn away by the St. Lawrence. The Tuscarora settlement is on the sumit of this hill, and has a comanding view of Lake Ontario, tho at the distance of ten or more miles. The opposite shore is just visible east of York. The country between the lake and ridge lies before you an almost unbroken forrest and looks as level as the lake itself as far as the eye can extend to the east & west. Except for its deep & beautiful verdure you might mistake it for an ocean. The trees here are Majestic & lofty. The oaks hickory & black walnut tower into the skies like the loftiest of our pines. Such

beautiful timber I never before saw. At Tuscarora I could hear the incessant roar of the great wonder of the world like a gentle murmur in the Breeze. I have just arrived at the falls in the heat of the day but have chose to converse with you a while before I take a particular survey of this interesting scene. I have had a distant view of the cataract and rode some distance upon the high banks of the Niagara Below. It is a majestic stream, and the water presents a deep & lively green, as if it had been tinged by some brilliant dye. It is not so deep as the green of the sea. Its colour is probably owing to its depth. More about this hereafter.

I design to go from this place tomorrow up the Canada side to Buffaloe where I design to keep the sabbath. Thence I shall return home as rapidly as possible. The fourth sabbath I design to spend at Syracuse or East of there. I think I shall return by the springs, where I may spend a day or so. I hope to hear from you at Buffaloe. I cannot now fix the day of my return, but if I do not write you, I will put the expected day of my return upon a paper. This I design to forward from Buffaloe. . . .

British side Niagara falls June 28th

I arrived yesterday afternoon on the American side & spent the afternoon in viewing the wonders of the place & this morning have taken a view of this side. I will not attempt a particular description till I see you. I cannot say that the scene much exceeded my expectations, nor was I so much disappointed as Charles was at Bellows falls. It is certainly something more than a mill dam & I would very gladly give a few dollars if you & the children could behold the scene with me.

I have been to visit the ground on which was fought the bloody battle of Bridgewater. between 800 & 900 on each side were killed & missing. I saw the skull of a poor fellow that was left in the woods unburied. I have a ball that a boy that was with me picked up, for which he charged me a sixpence.

I go this afternoon on the Canada side to Buffaloe where I expect to keep sabbath. I am in one of the most superb hotels that I have ever seen. From the top of the building I have a full view of the falls at a little distance beneath. The house trembles by the pouring of the waters. The roar here does not appear loud, tho it is heard at a great distance. From the top of this very high house there is a very extensive prospect and the wilderness around all appears as level as the ocean, except a little elevation to the south, which I suppose to be on the east shores of Erie, and on the west at a great distance there is a very little rise above the general level. The

country on each side of the falls is a level champain country, & the falls have evidently worn a mighty chasm in the rocks which are the common blue limestone in horizontal strata on which this whole western world is based. The strata is sometimes very thin & easily crumbled away. In other cases it is thick & solid & lies in tables several feet thick & so hard as to appear imperishable. This is the case with what is called the table rock on the west side. There is a strata 3 feet thick on the surface very hard & solid. beneath this it is more soft & perishable & of course has worn away & left the upper strata projecting over many feet.

Buffaloe, June 29th

I have just finished reading your letter the 3d time and can assure you I was very glad to recieve it. I arrived here last evening at Dark. I had a very pleasant ride from the falls. The whole distance 20 miles is without a hill, 16 miles of it upon the river bank and not a bush upon the shore to interrupt the prospect. The banks from 2-1/2 to 5 feet high. The river a smoth gentle stream from 1/2 a mile to a mile wide. On the right of the road rich & well cultivated fields the whole distance and about 100 rods in the rear a continued & unbroken forrest of majestic trees. I have seen places more fertile, but none on the whole that presented more to delight the eye of the traveller than this. . . . I am glad I have doubled my journeys end & shall make my way home as rapidly as possible. I design to spend a day at Geneseo, part of a day at Bloomfield, part of a day or a sabbath at Syracuse, a day at the springs & mean to be home as early next week as I can. I have not seen enough of this place to give much account of it. But I think it to be a place of increasing business & many handsome buildings.

With much love, yours  
E D Andrews

There is no doubt that Elisha was impressed with New York State, and a year or so later he moved his family there from Vermont. He accepted an assignment at Mendon to serve a mission church of forty families.<sup>7</sup> Not much is said about how the family managed to live for the next two years. According to the official papers outlining his ministerial appointment, the Presbyterian Church guaranteed

Elisha only fifty dollars a year.<sup>8</sup> He was supposed to collect as much of that fifty dollars from the congregation as possible; the central church only made up any deficit. In a report Elisha made to the church in late 1831, he told of the poor collection he had made toward his salary (only \$25), explaining that "the church have lost much by emigration, eight members went to Michigan in one family."<sup>9</sup>

During this same time, the family continued to investigate other possibilities for settlement. Since the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, migration to Michigan had been increasing steadily, and the Andrews were well exposed to this movement. They must have heard numerous reports from travelers and tradesmen, and some of their friends and acquaintances were moving west. Elisha and Betsey's brothers from Massachusetts discussed the prospects of a move west. A letter from her brother Solomon written in December 1830 commented: "Whether Michigan is the best I cannot say, but one thing I can say, i.e., if circumstances would justify my leaving this place I would do it immediately & I know not of any place I should prefer looking to than Michigan."<sup>10</sup>

In the spring of 1831 Elisha made an exploratory trip to Michigan. Both Seth and Anne were in New England, Seth getting ready for graduation from Dartmouth College at Hanover, New Hampshire, and Anne visiting relatives in Connecticut and Vermont. Seth wrote Anne several letters

passing on to her family news, including some glowing reports about Michigan.

Father did not write how the improvements are to be made in Mich. I conclude the soil is so fertile that houses, barns, &c. grow there spontaneously. I should like to know how long it takes to raise a crop, and whether the young ones can be transplanted. If they can I would get one and set it out somewhere in the valley of Connecticut river and let it grow up while I prepare myself to occupy it.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the appeal of Michigan, by August Elisha showed a preference for New York State as a home for the family. Anne heard again from Seth:

Mr. Bates and wife have visited at our house, and father has been absent a week to visit them at Gaines, N.Y.<sup>7</sup>. He says he saw some fine situations in that part of the country which he should prefer for a residence to Mich., and perhaps may purchase and remove there at the close of his year in Nov. The place that he was most pleased with, was two miles from the village of Albion; and for pleasantness and fertility would not be inferior to old Judge Barnards. The buildings are worth more. The farm contains 155 acres. He says nothing about it there, till the business is settled which will be in a few weeks; perhaps it would be as well to say nothing about it, for fear some bird of the air should carry it. I hope he will purchase it. Do you know wher the said village of Albion is? it is not on my atlas.<sup>12</sup>

This deal was never completed, however, and in February 1832 Elisha wrote to friends:

I have purchased 105 acres of land under very good improvement & fence, and buildings estimated to be worth from 1300 to 1500 dollars. I give 35 hundred dollars. I have also the expectation of buying an addition that will make my farm a respectable one. My place lies 2 miles south of the canal in the village of Pittsford.<sup>13</sup>

Elisha did try to expand the farm. Several statements appear in letters about unsuccessful attempts to buy more

land, and Seth reported to Anne that "he means to buy all the land that joins him."<sup>14</sup>

Not only was the farm itself considerably improved, but the village of Pittsford was well developed. As early as 1830 it had been described as:

an incorporated village pleasantly situated on the Erie Canal. It has three lawyers and five clerks, four Physicians and three medical students, one priest and one theological student, one meeting house one school house, 5 dry goods stores, four publick houses.<sup>15</sup>

Despite a pleasant situation in New York State, Elisha continued to be interested in Michigan. He had bought 720 acres of land there in 1831, the farm to which the family finally moved ten years later. The decision to live in New York while investing in Michigan seems to have been based on family difficulties. Betsey's brother Edward had married Elisha's sister Emma. The couple had been living with their children in West Springfield, Massachusetts, and Edward had fallen in with "bad companions." He had spent all the money he could lay his hands on, plus running up debts against the property Emma had inherited. He was being threatened by his creditors and finally skipped town to avoid arrest, going to join Betsey and Elisha. Edward must have kept his whereabouts secret from most people, for his brother Solomon wrote Elisha on December 27, 1830: "I am apprehensive that it would be well for you when you write in relation to his matters to have the superscription in another hand as yours

is known & to have it put into an office in some place besides Mendon."

Edward wanted to go to Michigan and make a new start, then have his family join him. His father (and Betsey's) was seriously ill and not expected to live long, and Edward thought his inheritance from that estate would make it all possible. But the father questioned Edward's ability to stick to his resolutions for reform; he put Edward's portion of the estate in the hands of trustees, to be handled for the benefit of Edward's children. Nothing could be done with the land or the funds without the approval of the trustees, his brother Solomon and an uncle. The father also spoke of his fears to the trustees, and Solomon wrote to Edward after their father's death:

He said however that your health was not good & your Boys not the stoutest & he feared that if you went onto a farm entirely new, you would not be able to get along with it. he hoped that you would find one with some clearing already made. He was desirous also that you & Mr. A. Andrews should make a pitch near each other. . . . Emma says she wishes me to tell you that she has nothing in particular to say, only that she is willing to go anywhere, but does not want to go to Michigan.<sup>16</sup>

And so Edward bought a farm in West Bloomfield, and they all decided to remain in New York for a while at least. It was some time before all the financial affairs were straightened out and Edward proved that he could manage on his own. Finally, although the funds were still under control of trustees, it was agreed in 1837 that:

"If he & his family are willing to go to Michigan, there



can be no doubt but that it will be a movement which will contribute greatly to the pecuniary advantage of his children."<sup>17</sup> The inheritance from the Lathrop estate was no doubt of considerable help to both families in their investments. Edward received (or rather his children did) land appraised at \$1,136.58 and Betsey half that amount.<sup>18</sup>

Actually, in 1836 three families--Solomon Lathrop's (the brother in Massachusetts), Edward Lathrop's, and Elisha Andrews'--planned to make the move to Michigan together in 1837. The first two succeeded in selling their eastern farms, but Elisha was unable to do so. He, therefore, had to stay in New York when the others moved. The depression which hit in 1837 made it difficult to get cash for anything. On December 16, 1839, Elisha wrote Edward about some prospective buyers but indicated: "I have been so often disappointed that my hopes are not very strong." Not until 1841 did the Andrews manage to join the other families in Michigan.

## CHAPTER III

### THE LAND IN MICHIGAN

With the exception of the first couple of years, most of the family's stay in New York State was considered temporary. Their direct participation in the westward movement had been halted for a few years, but Elisha's interest in Michigan land continued, with speculation on a grand scale as one goal and the development of farms for himself and his children as another.

#### Speculation

Elisha was active in various land matters in Michigan. In addition to his original purchase in 1831, he bought more land for the family, some of it in Betsey's name. A quarter section was purchased for Seth's fiancée in 1836. He also acted as a land agent for friends or acquaintances in New York and New England. There may have been other transactions, but those are the ones that the letters identify (Figure 10).

When we discovered letters about land speculation, Mother was shocked. They say there's a skeleton in every family's closet, and she thought we'd turned up ours. A speculator! And a minister at that! Actually, in those days everyone who had any spare cash was likely to invest

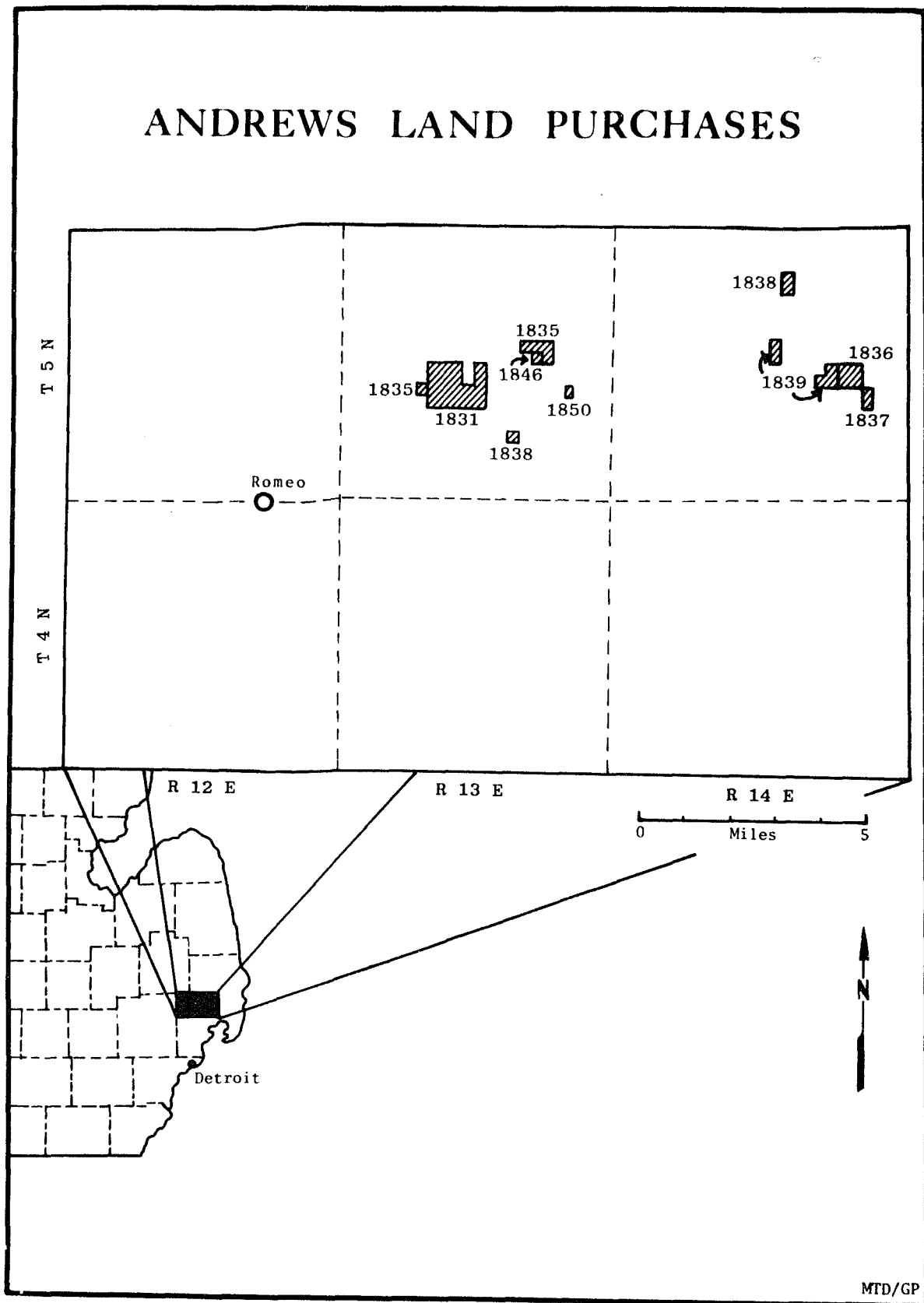


Figure 10. Land purchased by Elisha D. Andrews for himself and members of his family.

in land. And if you couldn't get around in person to locate promising land, what could be better than entrusting your investments to a minister?

The extent of people's interest in land is indicated in a portion of a letter Eleazer True received from his sister, who seems less well educated than the rest of her family. She lived with another brother, Daniel, and earned a little money by sewing and doing housework for neighbors. Nevertheless, she was interested in land. In 1836 she wrote Eleazer:

I have not much I can call my own. I have some few dollars coming to me I spose, would you not advise me to lay that money out in land in M. Michigan T. Territory and let it lay. woud it not in a couple of years bring me double, if I should want to sell it? let it lay now it would still be raising in value, may be at some future day make me a home when Danil gets married and I not wanted.<sup>1</sup>

Although emigration to Michigan had been increasing since the opening of the Erie Canal, 1836 was the year of peak interest in Michigan lands. The effect on the one small town of Pittsford is indicated in a letter written by another brother, Joseph True, to Eleazer on July 2, 1836:

The Michigan fever has raged very violent here this spring. The Spirit of Speculation in Michigan Lands far exceeds anything else. it is the "Aarons Rod" that consumes every other spirit--all that could raise money enough to buy a lot, either by borrowing or Begging, have gone, sent, or are going, and Thousands of Dolls. has been carried from Pittsford this Spring which makes money very scarce, it being all locked up in the Public Treasury and the key lost I should judge from appearances. Bronson has ret'd. having traveled through Michigan & Ouisconsin, as far west as the Mississippi River, and made some purchases.

Mr. Buck in company with Saml. Lathrop has just ret'd. from a tour of Michigan, and have made some pretty extensive purchases, say forty or fifty Lots in different sections of the Territory. They have purchased a place in Adrian where they intend to remove with their families and Lot, of Dry Goods, this Fall though do not intend to locate permanently in that place. Mr. Potter has made a purchase of a \$1000. Doct. Huntington as much or more, having sent the money by agents, sure of a great advance located any where. Bellow & his Brother starts next week to make a purchase. Stephen Lusk has gone. Dennis has been, & Harry is there. Lorenzo Winslow has been there and bought in Allegan where he intends to move this fall. Geo. Dennis has been there & bought and is about to move. Stillman has sold his farm to John Benedict and will remove to Pennsylvania and in indeed there is but very few but have set their faces to the west, and their desire to see the fancied paradise increases with every days report of Praries vast and Pleasand vales with which Michigan is filled. as to myself I've been at times considerably troubled with this fever, but an Empty Purse has thus far proved an Effective refrigerent.

Nevertheless, Joseph did manage to join the westward movement; in October his employer, a storekeeper, moved and took Joseph along.<sup>2</sup> A year later, on October 13, 1837, he wrote again from Adrian, Michigan, reporting the effect of the depression of 1837.

The fever for speculation which raged so violently when I came here last fall has almost entirely subsided, lands have fallen at least one half and no sales of consequence at any price. Those that supposed themselves vastly rich are now poor indeed. Those that have lands and are able to hold them till times change for the better will do well. The Pressure has not been felt here as sensibly as farther East, yet it has had a tendency to lessen the amount of business and retard Considerably the improvements that were about being made.

Elisha had a well-developed case of the fever also, one which didn't subside easily. He promoted a plan to purchase an entire township. Early in 1836 he corresponded

with friends, attempting to collect enough money for the project.<sup>3</sup> One gentleman agreed to furnish \$5,000. Some people said they would be willing to settle on his land when the purchase was completed. But the scheme took too long to develop. Early in 1837 at least one of those involved, David Crawford, questioned "whether it is a good time to invest money in Michigan."<sup>4</sup> He wrote again on April 25, 1838:

Under these circumstances of scarcity of money, general depression of business & little emigration to the west, I have some doubts of the contemplated investment proving profitable, but still am not prepared to go back if you remain of opinion that it is best to proceed. As I am confined here I should not for a moment think of investing money in Michigan lands except in company with yourself, and you to see that the Taxes are paid, and other necessary cares exercised in regard to it.

Elisha must not have been discouraged by the decline in migration, for in May of 1838 Mr. Crawford spelled out the terms of an agreement:

The agreement I understand to be this, that we are to furnish equal sums of money; that you are to invest the whole furnished between us in lands in Michigan, or return to me my share of what shall not be so invested by you; that I loan to you your half of the money so furnished between us for which you are to give me your note, 7 pr ct Int. That you are to pay the Taxes which may be assessed on such lands as may be so purchased, charging one half to me, and that we are to be equal owners of the lands & share equally in the profit or loss.

. . . . .  
The agreement as written provides that the title is to be taken to me. I should have preferred that the title of the whole should have been taken to you & me jointly, were it not for the Common Law principle (which may prevail in Michigan, or may not, I do not know) which would make us joint tenants, and prevent the sale of the land by either of us without the consent of the other, and by which also, upon the

decease of either, the whole property would vest in the survivor to exclusion of the heirs of the deceased.

Sometime in May or June 1838 Elisha made a trip to Michigan to purchase land and reported on the venture. This report shows the change in conditions and also gives you a good idea of what they were looking for in land.

I can give you but a poor account of my success in purchasing land. On my arrival at Detroit I went to the land office and found that there had been much more land taken up than I supposed there could be in these hard times, and that the prospect of finding government land in the region where I wished to purchase was but a lean one. I however took an account of the unsold lands in 8 or 10 townships, and on re-paring to the region I found as I anticipated, that they were only refuse lots which I would not take even at government price. I found that the whole region had been repeatedly explored, and that those who explored it had left without purchasing.

One man in the neighborhood of my land had sold his farm and after exploring the region about for 2 weeks was obliged to go to the western part of the state on Grand River to purchase.

By going seventy-five or a hundred miles distant I suppose I might have purchased, but I have always had an aversion to purchasing in the interior, and to go such a distance to purchase and annually the same to look after the lands and to pay taxes, seemed to be undesirable for me. I then turned my attention to purchasing second hand land but I could find no good lands to be sold short of 4 or 5 dollars per acre. I could get lands not well situated, destitute of living water or too level and wet at 2.50 per acre, but the taxes are high, and have been increasing at a formidable rate. They are 50 per cent higher than they were last year and a 100 per cent higher than they were two years ago. Under these circumstances I concluded not to purchase at all. But just as I was leaving two pieces of land were offered me at a rate that I thought they could not fail to be good purchases. One is a lot of 80 acres of a good & I think 1st rate soil, a living stream of water thro it, a sufficiency of good timber, in the neighborhood of a good settlement about it, and a grist & saw mill at 1-1/2 miles distant on Belle River it is said will soon be built. There is a log house upon it and 1 acre chopped. For this I gave 2 50 per acre and I think it a good purchase. The other is a forty acre lot of very good black ash,

interspersed with some good oaks & white woods. It is 1-1/2 miles from my first Purchase or 2 miles as the road now runs, in the midst of settlements which have been made 5 or 6 years. For this I gave five dollars per acre and consider it a good purchase. I found no other offers for land that I thought worth accepting. I took the deeds in your name but at the same time feeling it to be doubtful whether you would choose to have an interest in the land unless the whole was invested. If you should not, I will engage to take them of from your hands at cost & interest and give you one or two years to make your election and the lands may remain in your hands for security till the money is paid.

The best chances for investing money in Michigan I think is in improved lands. Various causes operate there to produce hard times, & these I think are like to continue, untill they have made such a surplusage of produce that they can make remittances to the seaboard to pay for their goods. A great deal of land must come into market & be sold at a low rate. These considerations and others which I could name if I had time have made me cautious about purchasing. Under these considerations I have thought it would be better for me to improve the lands I already own than to purchase more. If I could retain for two or three years the money which I have in my hands I would pay you New York interest, and I should have a hundred acres cleared this year & put into wheat the next. I have but 4 yoke of oxen & 4 cows with a few young cattle, where I might easily keep summer & winter five times the number. If I increased my clearing it would be necessary to increase my stock.<sup>5</sup>

Elisha thus seems to have reached a decision to concentrate on land development rather than continued speculation.

#### A Closer Look at the Land Selected

It is interesting to analyze the land Elisha bought in 1831 according to the characteristics of good land that he outlined in his 1838 report to David Crawford. He wanted land well situated (in the neighborhood of a good settlement), not too level or wet but with "living"



(running) water, good soil, and a sufficiency of good timber.

When he began to look for land, many settlers from his part of western New York were locating in different parts of Michigan, and while many of them headed for the interior, Elisha indicated that he had an aversion to that part of the Territory and was looking nearer the shore. By 1831 settlement in eastern Michigan had progressed northward along old Indian trails to the vicinity of Romeo, which promised to become a prosperous community. Two major trails converged there--one from Detroit and Pontiac which skirted the interlobate moraine and another leading due east across the lake plain to the northern end of Lake St. Clair (Figure 11).

One of the early pioneers reminisced about the early settlement of the county as follows:

From the year 1824 to 1830 Romeo and the immediate vicinity grew rapidly; in many respects it had an advantage over other portions of the county. One of these was the location in reference to diversity of soil and scenery. West of the village it was hilly oak land and well adapted to the growth of wheat, and fitted to please the eye of those who loved the hills and valleys of the eastern states. The eastern side was flat and heavily timbered with elm, swamp oak, ash, and hickory, and just suited to meet the tastes of those who sought a grazing district.<sup>6</sup>

By 1831 the area around and to the southwest of Romeo had filled in fairly completely, and settlement had begun to spread out to the east along the Indian trail or the streams. To the northeast, however, little land had been claimed (Figure 12). In comparing areas purchased

# TOPOGRAPHIC MAP

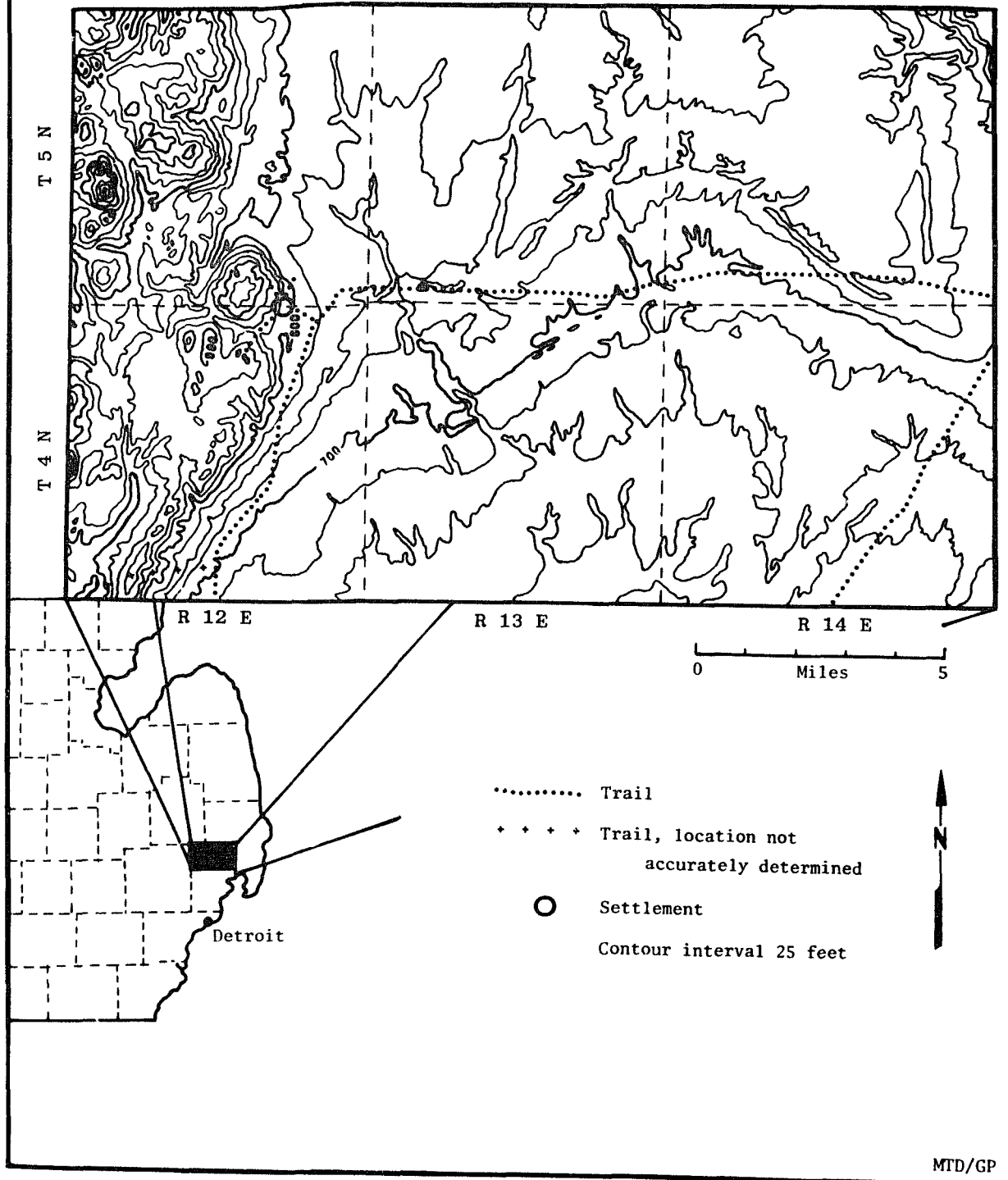


Figure 11. Topographic map of northern Macomb County, Michigan.

## LAND SOLD IN 1831 AND BEFORE

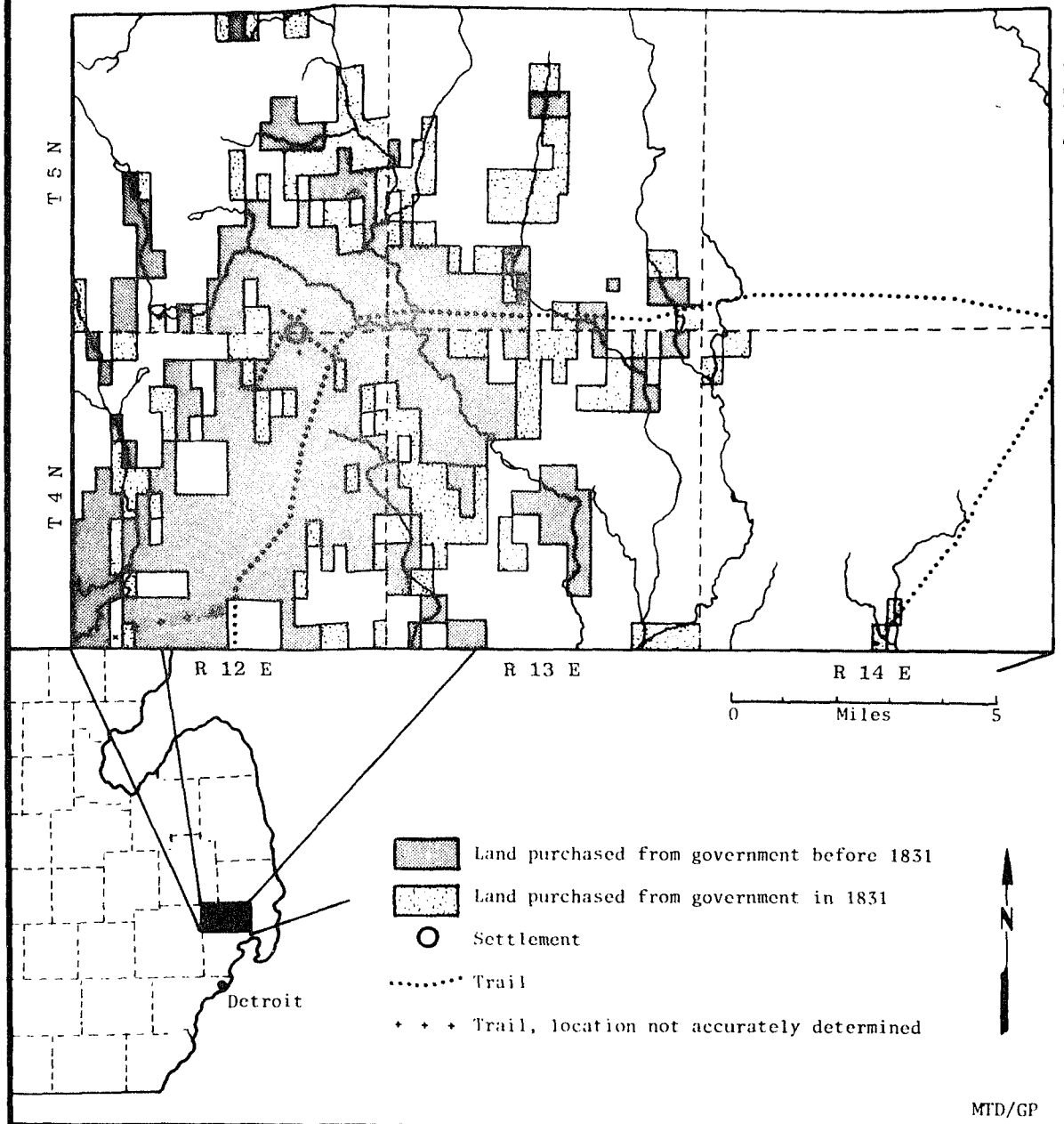


Figure 12. Land sold in 1831 and before, northern Macomb County, Michigan. Section 16 in each township was reserved for later sale by the township for the support of education. Section 34, T4N, R12 E, was reserved by the federal government because there was a salt spring there.

with those unclaimed, they seem to be similar in most respects. The main difference was in the vegetation. John Taylor's letter to Elisha mentioned the lack of good timber, and the surveyors' notes record a large expanse of fallen or partly fallen timber extending over much of the northern tier of townships in Macomb County (Figure 13). Also, a write-up about Ned Andrews, which someone had clipped from a Chicago newspaper and saved, contains the following information:

The site of the new farm was in a "wind fall," a tract made possible by some great storm fifty years before. The fallen timber had rotted away, and from its bed young saplings had grown in thickets. "Staddles" these saplings were called, after the English term used by Spenser in his "Faerie Queene," and to this day no one knows how this word got into the backwoods of Armada.<sup>7</sup>

This piqued my curiosity, and I searched for other references to it. In the History of Macomb County one of the local settlers reported:

When I was looking to locate my land . . . I started at the Northwest corner of Sec. 36 /of Armada Township/ and tried to trace the line to where the village of Armada now is /along the section line between Secs. 23 and 24/. I could find the line as far as the timber went, but before I had gone a mile it opened into brush land and open plains. Having nothing but a pocket compass to guide me, I could not find the section corners south of that place /Armada/, nor the quarter stake, where the village now is, and gave it up, not dreaming of the possibilities of the future--never thinking of what that sea of brush might be converted into.<sup>8</sup>

The field notebooks of Bela Hubbard, a geologist who surveyed the area in the summer of 1840, contained the following descriptions:

# CONDITION OF VEGETATION

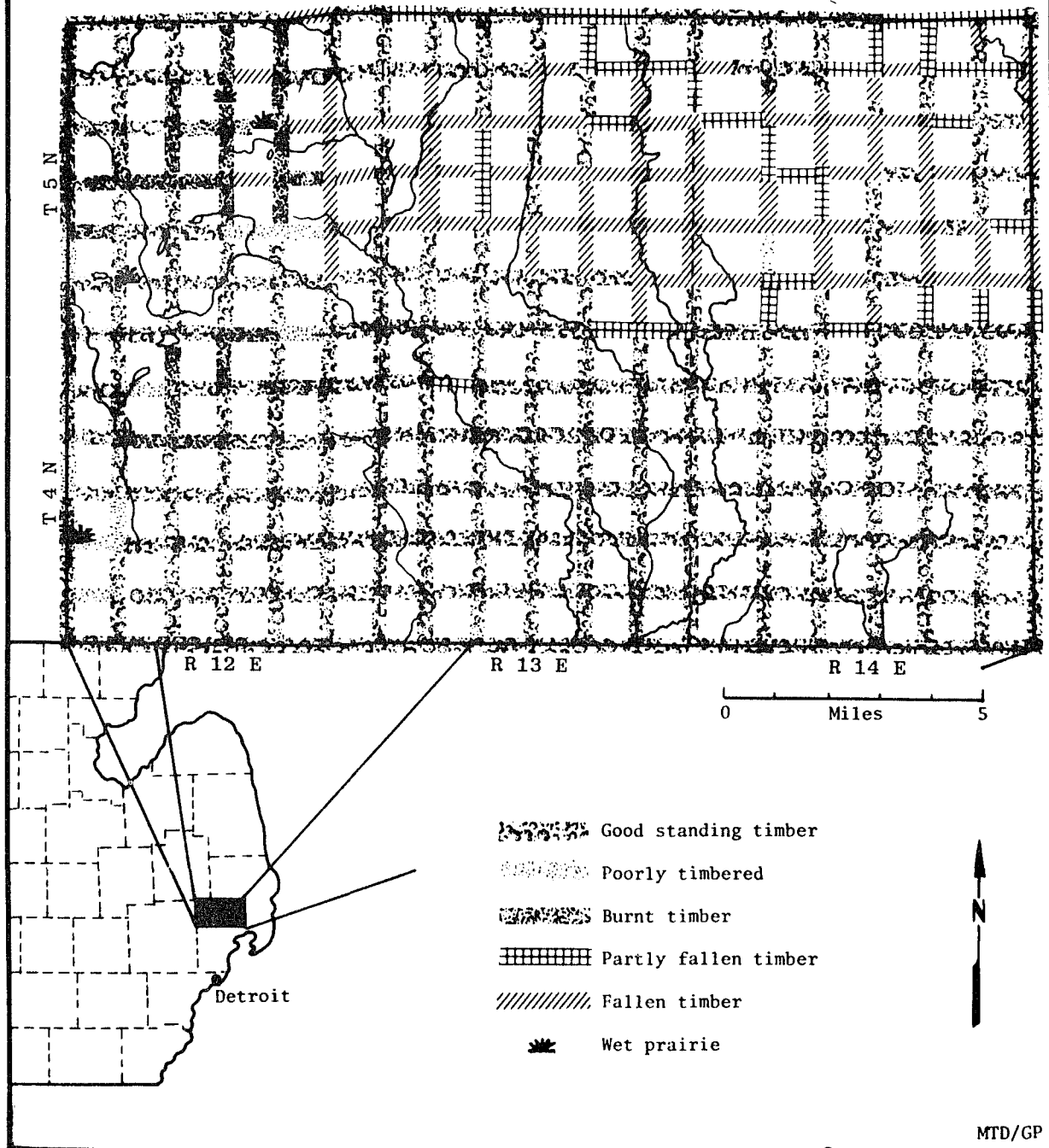


Figure 13. Condition of vegetation in 1817-1818, northern Macomb County, Michigan, as it was reported along section lines by government surveyors.

An extensive windfall, now overgrown to stadel, oak, poplar, maple, & lynn, covers a large portion of the town of Armada and Rich.

The trunks of the original timber are still left in remnants, & are mostly large. Now however, the soil wh is inclining to gravel or sand, resembles rather that of the openenings producing similar herbage. . . .

The windfall crosses these towns /Dryden and Bristol in Lapeer County/, having a breadth varying from 1 to 3 or 4 ms. The stadel timber which has succeeded the former growth is frequently of good medium size. The line of very light timber seems to be narrow. It produces poplar & other small trees and is often partially plains.

The fallen timber is now fast decaying. I observed that the trees all (or nearly so) lie with their tops easterly, showing the direction of the wind to have been from the west, but very many of them point NE & SW crossing each other at about a right angle. Some lie in N & S direction. I could not determine whether any central point within the track was indicated by these directions, or whether any indications were apparent of a gyratory motion to the hurricane.<sup>9</sup>

The storm is referred to as a hurricane, but it seems unlikely that a true hurricane would have sufficient power to cause destruction so severe and so localized as far inland as Michigan. The type of violent storm more likely to hit this area is the tornado, but the size of the swath is far greater than even a large tornado would produce. Perhaps there were several funnels. Obviously it must have been a very severe windstorm and a freakish one. Ned wrote to Charles about the storm more than a century after its occurrence, saying: "I do not remember hearing of any in Michigan later than the one said to have occurred in Armada about the time of the Revolution, which is supposed to have caused the formation of the 'Staddle lands.'"<sup>10</sup>

I've wondered whether there might be something else that could explain the width of the swath, whether there was something that made the trees there especially susceptible to wind damage. If this had been a marshy area with shallow rooted trees, that might explain it, but that does not appear to be so. Much of the land was poorly drained when it was surveyed (Figure 14), but that was the result of the windfall rather than the cause of it. At least that was the opinion expressed in the county history:

the streams of Armada were sluggish, and being clogged by the fallen timber, the water was held back and covered the low lands, thus making the country appear more water soaked than it actually was. As a matter of fact, the township had no lakes, hills or marshes within its borders.<sup>11</sup>

Another possibility that occurred to me is that many of the trees in this area had been killed by the Indians in establishing their agriculture. John Taylor's letter mentioned the wide distribution of old corn hills in the area. Indians usually established their fields by girdling the trees to defoliate them rather than chopping the trees down. Then they made small mounds or "hills" and planted corn in the tops of the mounds. These old corn hills remained as evidence of the agricultural use of the land long after the fields had been abandoned. There is also a comment in the History of Macomb County which states: "In many places in the brush or light timbered land, where the soil is sand or light loam, distinct rows of hills may be traced. They are in many places so

# EFFECTIVENESS OF DRAINAGE

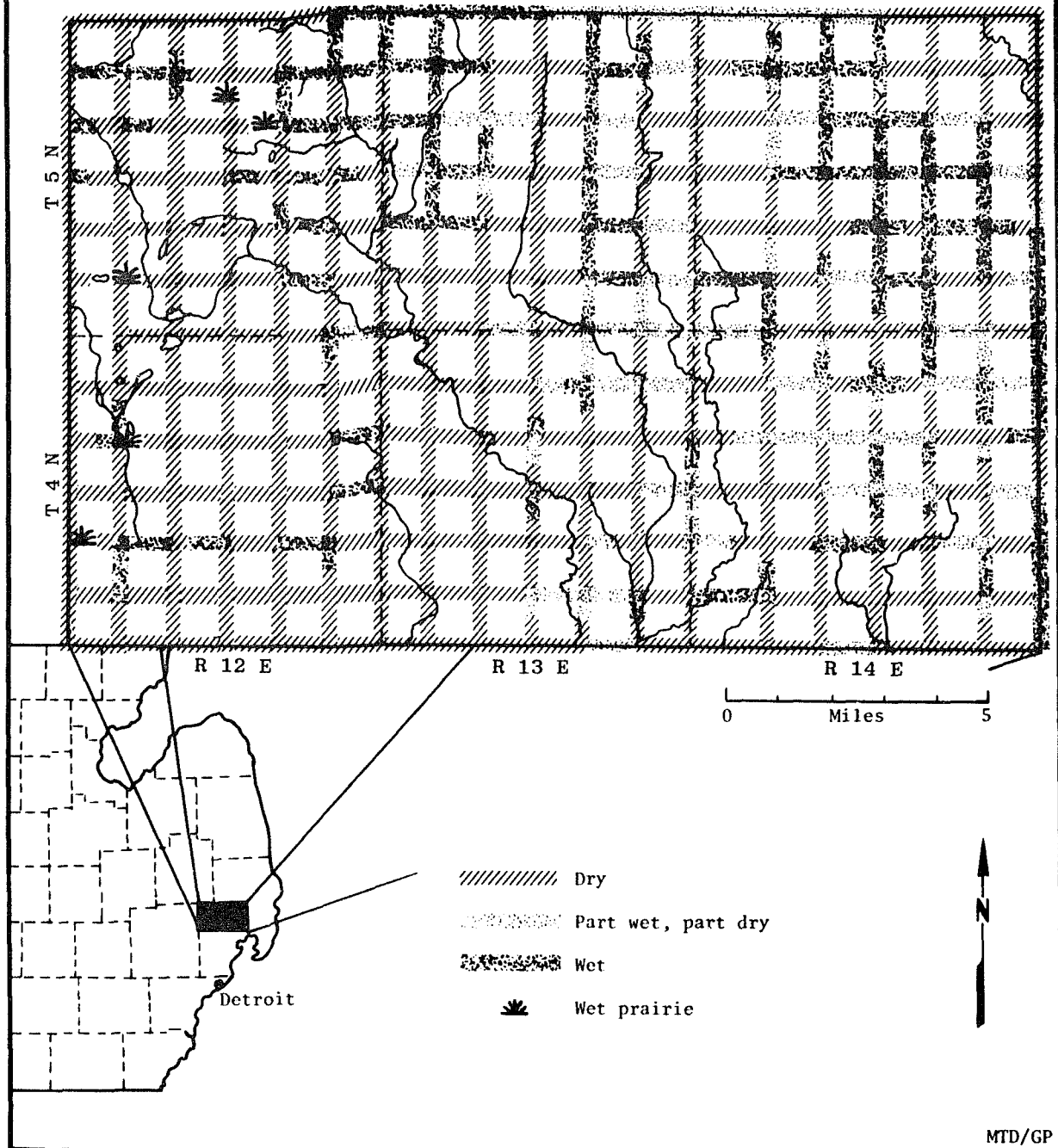


Figure 14. Effectiveness of drainage in 1817 and 1818, northern Macomb County, Michigan. The two western townships were surveyed in February 1818, the four central and eastern townships in September 1817.



prominent as to interfere with the first plowing of the land."<sup>12</sup> Scattered old fields with their dead trees would have been flattened by a storm much more easily than live trees in the midst of heavy forest. Even the intervening area of timber not disturbed by Indians would have been more exposed and subject to wind damage than the undisturbed forest in other areas.

One of course wonders whether there had been enough Indians in the area to make that much of an impression on the landscape. Local Indians were not mentioned in the letters, except to refer to the old corn hills. Some of the best and most complete studies of the Indian population in Michigan were published in the 1930s by W. B. Hinsdale. He indicated that there was a relatively large concentration of Indians in the northwestern part of Macomb County (Figure 15).<sup>13</sup> At least they left a rather large number of clues to their occupancy there besides the old fields. Several interesting archeological sites were within a mile or two of the largest Andrews' purchase and certainly within the windfall area (Figure 16).<sup>14</sup>

Although Hinsdale shows most of the archeological finds to be in the northwestern part of the county, the northeastern part also had some old fields, only generally located in the literature. In the History of Macomb County is this comment:

The Indian corn field on the north bank of Salt River was easily found so late as 1827. Here the savages had a thousand little hills, the pinnacle of

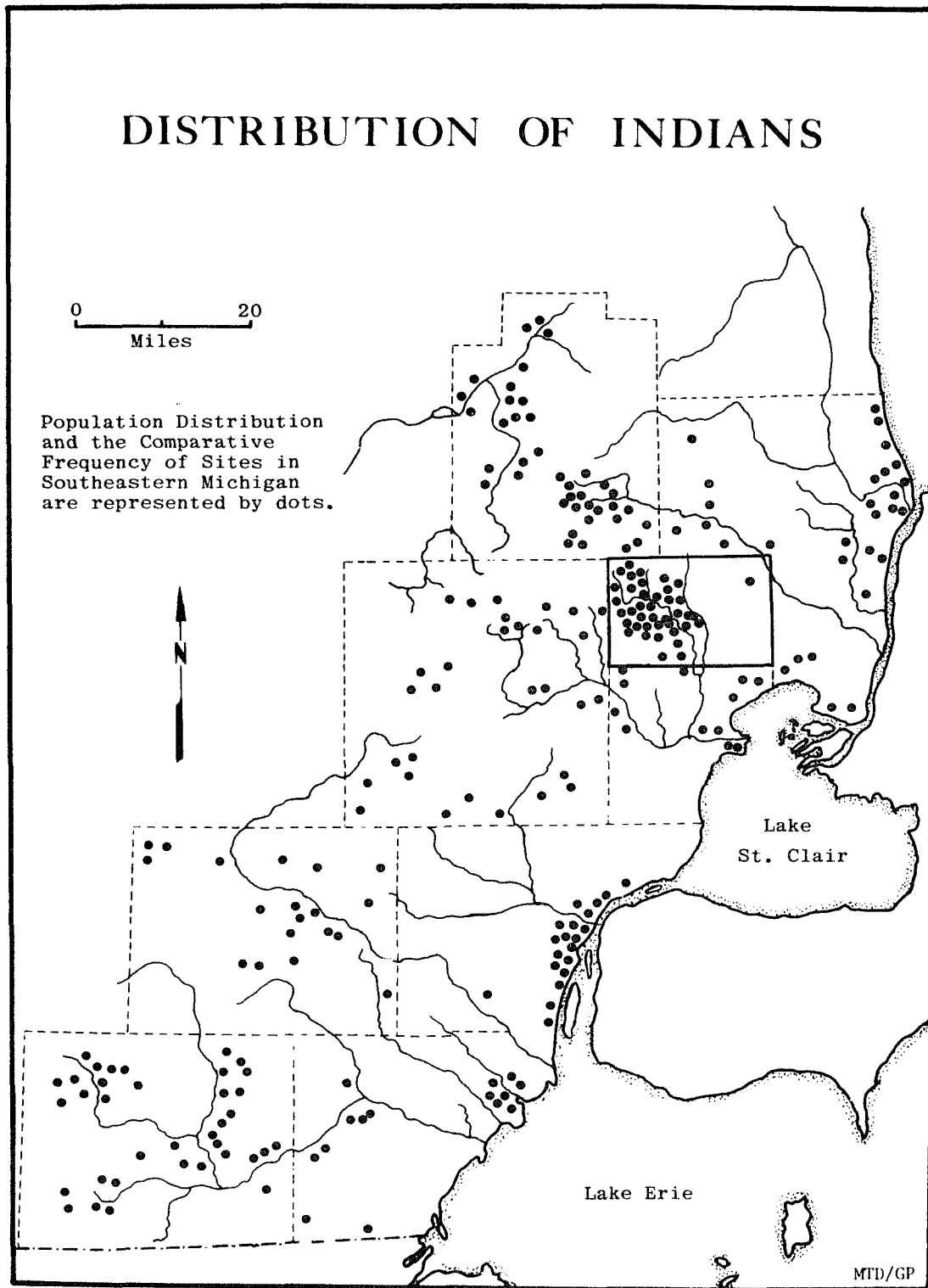


Figure 15. Distribution of Indian population before and during the first white occupancy. Although numbers cannot be approximated, one can conclude that the study area (outlined by a solid line) included a relatively large concentration of Indians.

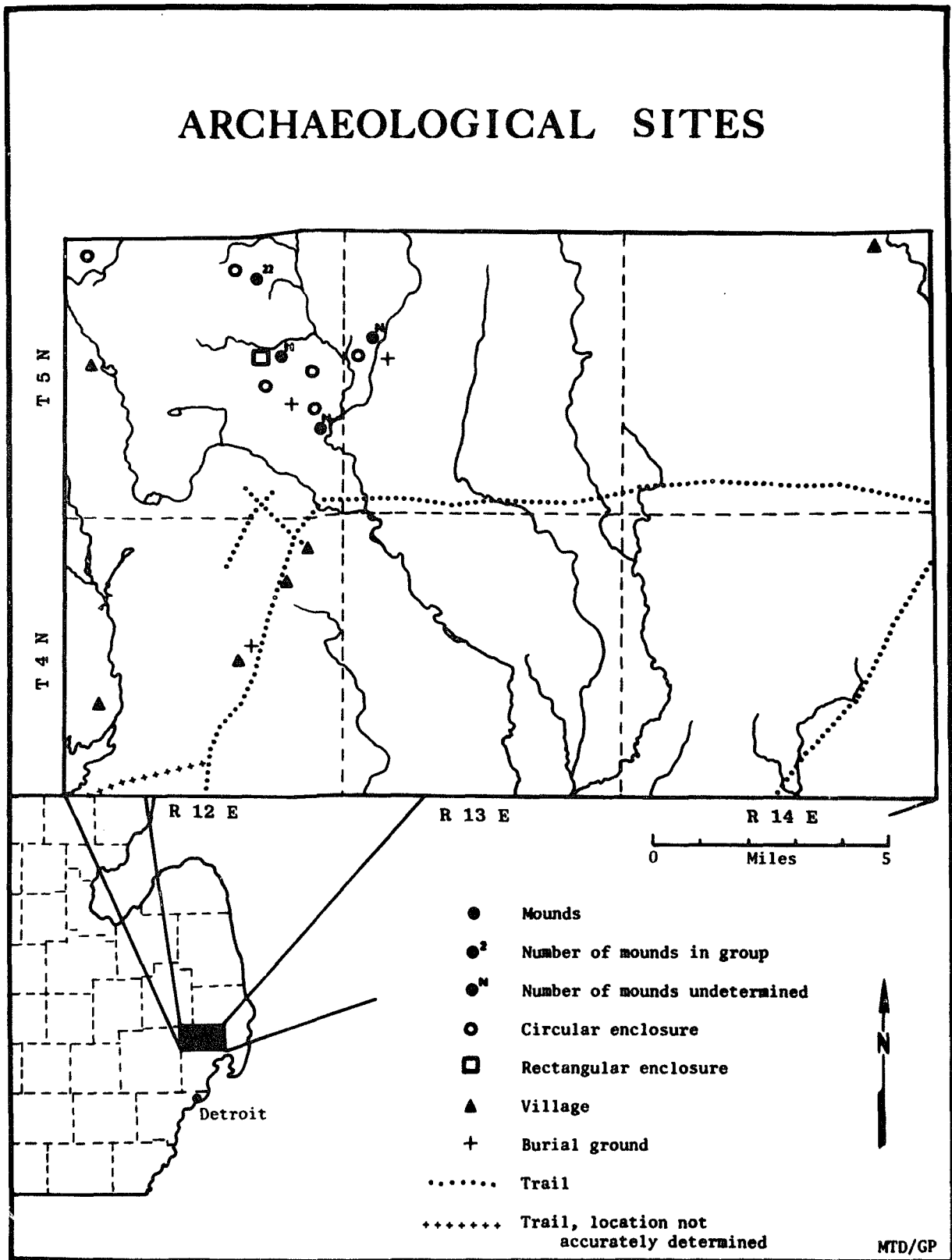


Figure 16. Archaeological sites, northern Macomb County, Michigan.

each was annually cultivated, leaving the bases and sides untouched by the rude instruments of agriculture which the cultivators used.<sup>15</sup>

The Salt River runs through eastern Lenox Township and into Lake St. Clair.

This proposal that the windfall was related to Indian cultivation of the area is just speculation on my part. Whatever the cause, the brush land existed and, though used by the Indians at some time in the past, seems to have been avoided by settlers buying land until 1830-1831. Elisha was one of the earliest to purchase land there. He chose a site that was on a stream, but most of the farm was elevated enough for good drainage. The soils were classified by the surveyor as good second-rate soils. The farm was a couple of miles away from a developed trail and five miles from Romeo, the only budding village in the vicinity. All in all, except for the deficiency of good timber, this seems to have been a good choice. Subsequent purchases by Elisha in the next few years were in the same general area, having much the same characteristics, so he must have been satisfied with his first investment.

## CHAPTER IV

### A FARM FROM THE FOREST--INITIAL DEVELOPMENT

Looking at the farmland around Armada now, it is difficult to picture it as wilderness or to imagine what it must have been like converting that wilderness into productive farmland. Certainly the hardships must have been great, but how long did the settlers have to endure them? How quickly could they develop some of the advantages and comforts of a more established community? What sort of farm did they establish? Just what was involved in achieving such a profound change in the landscape?

#### Tenancy Arrangements

Initially Elisha and his family did not tackle the job personally. Having decided to remain in New York for a time, Elisha contracted for the development of his land in Michigan. In February 1832, shortly after he made his main purchase, Elisha wrote to friends:

I expect some settlers to go on my Michigan land in the spring, as I have several offers, but I may be disappointed. I agree to build them houses and pay them 75 dollars when they have cleared 20 acres and they are to clear 20 acres a year and have all they can raise for five years. I have hired 30 acres cleared at 2.50 cts. /\$2.50/ per acre.<sup>1</sup>

Tenancy was not common in the settlement of this part of the country according to reports of those times. Blois, in his book published in 1838, says about the state of Michigan that there were "very few, who do not own or possess the means of owning a farm. They are generally freeholders. Tenants are rarely to be found, and indigence and pauperism, comparatively, but little known."<sup>2</sup> But in the early stages of development of Elisha's Michigan property tenancy was of considerable importance. Through various arrangements he had a number of acres cleared and developed and some buildings completed before he moved his family west.

From our point of view this is fortunate, because much of the information on the early development of the farm is found in letters written by the tenants. The first to establish operations (in late 1832 or early 1833) was Henry TenEyck, a man whose home had been, I assume, in the vicinity of the Andrews home in New York; in his business letters to Elisha he sends greetings to his family and friends. Those letters are the most numerous during a three-year period from 1833 through 1835. Several later letters were from Betsey's brothers and nephews who moved there in 1837, and there are a few from other tenants or employees whose exact time of occupancy and range of responsibility are less clear.

I have not found a statement of the terms of TenEyck's tenancy agreement, but they must have been

similar to those suggested above. He cleared land and planted crops, some of which he referred to as "my own planting" and some as "planted on shares."<sup>3</sup> He built a house (or had it built) and supervised the building of a barn, but Elisha supplied the money for materials that had to be purchased. In fact, when TenEyck made trips to Detroit on business, Elisha paid his expenses.

TenEyck and the Lathrops also seem to have held more responsible positions than that outlined by Elisha in the general program, and this may be why they had expenses paid. They managed the contracts for a number of local men who were clearing land. Often those men were to receive board in addition to wages, and the tenant provided this.

#### Original Structures

Naturally one of the first things to be considered after arriving on the farm plot had to be a house and other necessary structures. Elisha had agreed to finance a log cabin, so TenEyck set out to get one built. Nothing is said specifically about where or how he lived until the cabin was finished. He may have lived at Taylor's near Romeo; at least his first letter was from Romeo, and he mentioned Mr. Taylor frequently.

That first letter to Elisha in New York reported the progress in house building. Reading Henry's letters is sometimes confusing because he used very few punctuation

marks and has a peculiar system of using capital letters (Figure 17).

I have bought my Lumber and Stuff for my house and Got it on The Ground . . . with The assistance of Mr. Taylor we have picked uppon a building Spot near The Spring you spoke of /Figure 18/ and Come To Get The Lumber and Stuff Together it Cost more Than we Calculated uppon Lumber and Team work is high, . . . The article of brick are verry high and verry poor and I have Thought That if you would pay Twords a Stove what a Chimney would Cost I would Try and Get one.<sup>4</sup>

In August he hired a carpenter to put in floors and "petitions." The lower floor was to be planed and matched, the upper floor (loft?) merely jointed and laid down; partitions were to be matched and "put up rough." He said that he had "made Conciderable Enquiry and This appears To be The Custom of The Country."<sup>5</sup> Later, after the Andrews had moved into the log house, Charles wrote:

We are living in a very comfortable log house and I am seated in the upper story vulgarly called the garret; a large hole in either end admits the light & also a very fresh breeze which annoys me very much by blowing my paper about. But you have seen a log house so I shall not attempt to describe ours.<sup>6</sup>

Both a house and a cook house were mentioned, though no details are given, except for the stove. Apparently Elisha agreed to substitute a stove for the fireplace and chimney. Henry went to Detroit and bought a stove and pipe, plus a boiler with a copper bottom and tin top. The total cost of that equipment, including the transportation charges from Detroit, was "not . . . mutch Short of Twenty five Dollars."<sup>7</sup>

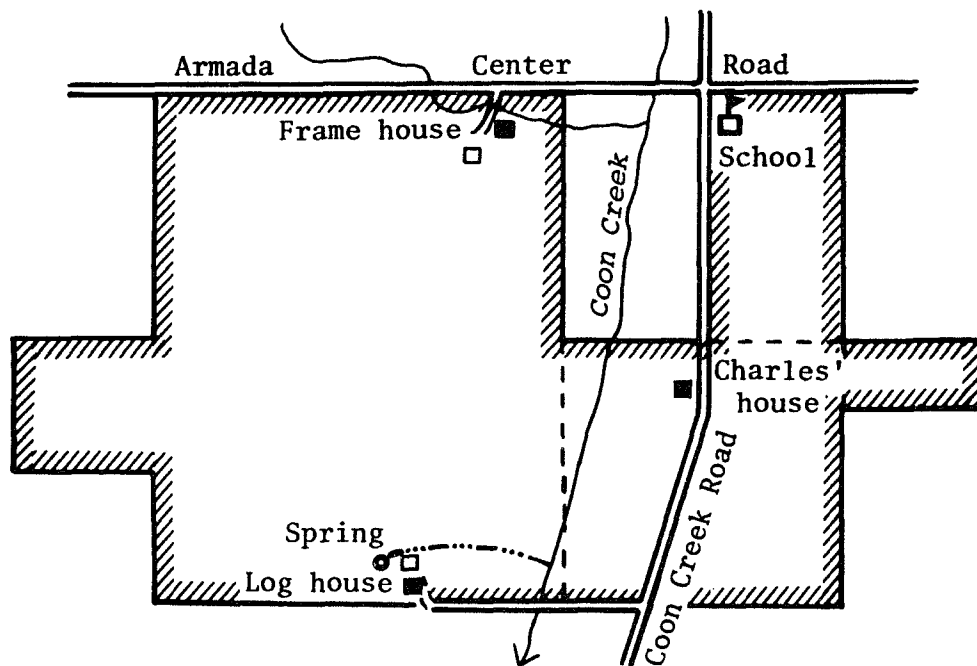


Amada Oct. 18. 1834

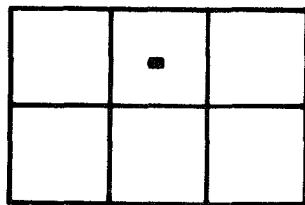
Read and Dear Sir Yours of the 19 of Sept  
 was duly Received. and ~~that~~ I have applied as I have  
 before stated and there is still a lack of money to  
 supply the wants immediately there appearing to be no prospect  
 of waiting long for the remainder that is the amount  
 that I last wrote you. I have disposed of one yoke of oxen  
 the yoke that we first purchased for Chopping and Clearing and  
 plowing 12 acres of Ground in South of the house it is to be done  
 by the first of June next it is to be plowed with the poles  
 on the ground as far as they will go, the follow next 10 or  
 12 acres with the poles that were on the ground the work  
 is not yet completed there appears to be a spell put on it  
 by heavy weather or other it <sup>may be</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>some</sup> ~~other~~ <sup>disagreeable</sup> hands and  
 is not done yet. as it respects a change of policy I think  
 it will be better for us both. I never made ~~the~~ <sup>any</sup> calculation  
 of sowing Corn here at present on account of the late and  
 early frosts but have put full confidence in Wheat but that  
 also appears to be a very uncertain crop and the price  
 being low there does not appear to be much to be made  
 by it and Cheese and Wood and Cloth is in good demand  
 and therefore I think a change would be advisable for  
 both I think there will be but little to be made from  
 the attack of Holers amongst a lot of sheep in open day  
 and at night they will of course be ~~goodly~~ <sup>goodly</sup> ~~found~~ <sup>found</sup>  
 twenty acres west and is up look fine I have say more so  
 low to Wheat and then I have thought I should sow the west  
 side of the swale to see as I turned it over soon after harvest  
 it appears to be a fine crop <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ I do not know why  
 it should not be a profitable one it makes the best of feed  
 for sheep and as the land is high and within five miles of  
 us it will be but little trouble to have it ~~grown~~ <sup>grown</sup> ~~up~~ <sup>up</sup>  
 potato crop is very light indeed on account of the the dry  
 weather coming on so early after the wet not more than  
 one third of a crop you may think it late to sow but  
 our principles farmers here are now just in the height  
 of sowing potatoes it is on account of the insect  
 I sowed the twenty acres from the 20 of Sept to 25  
 I have also exchanged 1 other pair of oxen for a pair of

Figure 17. Part of a letter written by Henry TenEyck.

# THE ANDREWS FARM



0 Mile 1



Location within the six townships

MTD/GP

Figure 18. The Andrews farm, showing those developments completed between 1832 and 1851 which can be located with reasonable accuracy.

They also began thinking about a barn during the summer of 1833. It was decided to build a thirty by forty foot barn, a relatively small one. Henry wrote that he would much rather have two small barns than one big one. Plans were made to build it into the south side of the "swail" so that they could have a stable underground and retain the entire main structure for storage of hay and grain.<sup>8</sup> A man from the neighborhood was hired to put up the barn and was paid the going rate for that size barn--\$60 and board--plus an extra \$10 for doing the basement story. Henry commented later that this was a bargain, because it probably should have cost nearer \$20 for the lower floor.<sup>9</sup>

The price for building the barn did not include acquisition of materials; that was Henry's responsibility. Despite the general lack of good timber on the farm, he managed to find enough large oak and ash for the main timbers "west of the creek." In one letter early in the planning stages Henry suggested getting such timber from "Some distance off of Publick Land."<sup>10</sup> Whether Elisha disapproved of the suggestion or whether it proved unnecessary, I'm not sure. At any rate, Henry gathered their own logs and worked during the winter to hew them for framing timbers.<sup>11</sup> He also drew the lumber needed from the mill. Pine lumber was bought for siding, roofing, and for the stable and threshing floors. TenEyck reported going sixteen miles for it, though he doesn't say

where the mill was. Elisha's accounts listed payment for lumber to two persons who bought land from the government about seven or eight miles west of the farm and along a stream which was used for water power, so perhaps the sixteen miles was for a round trip rather than one way. The hauling was done by "slay" during the winter as much as possible, since it "Could be Done with a Great Eal less Expense Than it Could by Wheeling."<sup>12</sup> For nails and iron for hangings he had to go thirty-five miles to Detroit. He had the shingles made in the neighborhood.<sup>13</sup>

In mid-April TenEyck wrote that they had raised the basement story of the barn early that month and that the upright part was almost ready to raise. I can't tell just when that event took place, but between February and July Elisha's accounts show an expenditure of \$3.30 for refreshments for the barn raising! In July TenEyck wrote of getting additional materials so that the barn could be completed soon "as harvest is approaching fast."<sup>14</sup> But the roof was not completed for nearly a year. Elisha made the mistake of paying the carpenter before the work was finished! Even so, at the end of two or two and a half years, TenEyck had at least a house, a cook house, and a barn.

#### Clearing the Land

Clearing and breaking the land were also a major concern at the start and continued to be important for a

number of years. In his book on pioneer agriculture, Bidwell stated that a "typical settler would clear, perhaps, on the average from 1 to 3 acres a year. Those who were exceptionally energetic or who had exceptionally large families would do considerably better."<sup>15</sup> Most of Elisha's contracts called for a man to clear twenty or more acres per season, so clearing must have been much easier here than in typically forested areas.

Several contracts for jobs were mentioned in the letters and in some cases the terms were summarized. There was, however, one complete contract among the papers:

Armada June 15th 1838

Orrin Tibbits and Wm Fessenden engage and bind themselves to Elisha D. Andrews to clear and fence for him the Said Andrews on his land in Armada twenty five acres in a good and workmanlike manner, beginning on the west side of the flats of Coon Creek extending west about fifty rods and north far enough to make twenty five acres. The fence to be made of oak, ash or poplar, and always of the most durable timber growing on the land, and the clearing is to be divided into two lots of from ten to fifteen acres each, and the job to be completed before the 1st of June A D 1839.

Said Andrews engages to pay to the said Tibbits & Fessenden six dollars and twenty five cents per acre for the chopping, clearing & fencing. Said Andrews is to find half the team for clearing and fencing.

Said Tibbits & Fessenden also engage to chop twenty five acres, lying on the north side of the first mentioned job, the brush which are cut while the leaves are on to be put into good compact windrows, and what is cut when the leaves are off to be piled in compact heaps for burning, for which they are to receive three dollars per acre and are to complete the job on or before the 1st day of June 1839.

In the presence of  
/s/ Charles A. Lathrop  
/s/ Seth Lathrop

/s/ E D Andrews  
/s/ Orrin Tibbits  
/s/ Wm. C. Fessenden

A number of steps were necessary to prepare the land for crops, and the work was usually divided up. First, the brush had to be chopped and any standing timber cut. After chopping, the usable poles were hauled out by team and the brush was piled and burned. The burning sounds like a simple enough task but was not always.

Charles Lathrop wrote:

This chopping of Mr Finch we have tried to burn two or three times but have not made out any thing it does not burn it is not piled close enough to burn well if it was let alone till another spring it might be cleared with less expense than it can be done now.<sup>16</sup>

In another letter written in 1841 he reported on burning a chopped lot: "it was not a very good time and we had to fire most every heap."<sup>17</sup>

Often the men who cleared the land were to fence it also. An eight rail fence was required, and, although they don't specify it, I assume the fences were the "worm" type which was still along some of the fields when we were young. The older pictures of the area show these and no other kind that I can recall (Figure 19). Fencing was usually done while the weather was cold and the ground frozen so that the timber could be hauled more easily. When possible, logs from the field being cleared were used for fencing it, but in one letter TenEyck reported that timber for fencing had to be drawn half a mile or more.<sup>18</sup>

TenEyck did some chopping and clearing himself, but some of the men who took on contracts for clearing

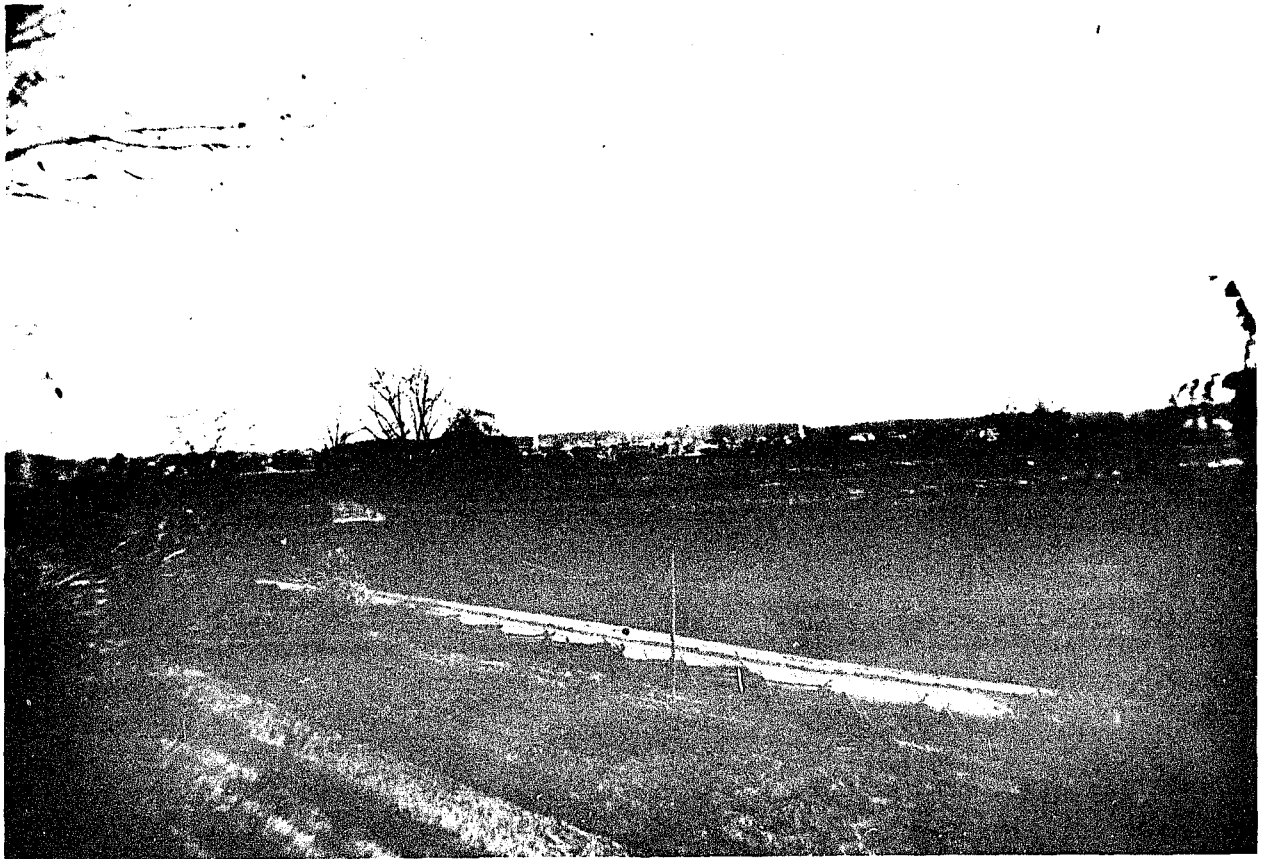


Figure 19. Farmland showing worm fences. This picture was taken (date unknown) by Grandpa George True from the roof of our house looking toward Armada.

land were neighbors who had bought land in the vicinity and needed money for development. In other cases they were squatters attempting to raise the money for their land before the time it was put up for sale. Charles Lathrop wrote in March 1840:

money is hard to be got hold of in this country. The half township as it is called is to be offered for sale the 11th day of May the sale to continue two weeks and most of the Squatters will lose their land if it should be sold. . . .

. . . . .  
 There has been some men here today that want to go on to your land here and clear up another farm and work it. they have been on the half township one summer they said that they had one yoke of oxen and a cow or two. they are three brothers by the name of Dodge I told them that we did not know whether you wanted any more tenants or not but would write to you about it They will want the money for clearing their object is to get money to pay for their land on the half township.<sup>19</sup>

Still others planned to work for awhile to get money ahead rather than squatting and making improvements they might lose later when the sale was made. A letter to Elisha from another minister introduced and recommended highly "H. Jackson who wants to work out a year in Michigan before buying land."<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult to tell just how much land was cleared and developed at any particular time. Various jobs were let, then abandoned and reassigned. Also, Elisha made at least one trip to Michigan every year to check up on his affairs, so some of the information in the letters is just to bring him up to date rather than giving him all the facts. Apparently the first year the plan was



to hire thirty acres cleared and ready for planting. By March twenty acres were done and the other ten were to be finished early in the spring. Fencing was to be completed by the middle of May.<sup>21</sup> At least twenty more acres were cleared during that summer (1833) and perhaps more.<sup>22</sup> In some plots the trees and brush were chopped down but the debris was not cleared away.

It must have been a very busy place that first summer. Henry complained about the problem of boarding the men who were working; individual men worked varying lengths of time, their labor totaling 119 man-days in all.<sup>23</sup> In July he wrote, "you will readaly perceive That it makes our family Large and Shall of course Destroy a Great Deal of provision pork in a particular manner a Barrel of pork amidst four or five hard working men Does not Go a Great Ways."<sup>24</sup> After the first year I presume that more labor went into cropping and less into clearing new land, but the work progressed, and by 1838 Elisha reported that he "should have a hundred acres cleared this year."<sup>25</sup>

#### Breaking the Land for Crops

As the land was cleared, TenEyck had to break up the ground and prepare it for planting. The breaking proved to be a problem, at least in some of the area. They had bought two yoke of oxen, but TenEyck still had to hire a third yoke some of the time. "Two yoke is not

Sufficient for it."<sup>26</sup> I suspect that the root systems of the brush might have been more difficult to deal with than those of full grown trees. When there was time, TenEyck plowed in one direction, then cross-plowed before planting. Occasionally he went ahead to plant "with once plowing."<sup>27</sup>

The plow he used, at least at first, was one they had fixed up themselves, and TenEyck finally decided that was a mistake. On July 12, 1833, he wrote Elisha, "I had a Good Eal of Trouble with my plough before I Got it fixed it Does Tolerably well not as well as I wished it Did." But by August 26 he remarked, "it would have been money in yours and my pocket To have Bought a plow in Detroit all ready for Breaking up." Such a plow cost fifteen to eighteen dollars at that time.<sup>28</sup>

In later years when the farm was well enough established that they could do the job properly, new land was plowed three times, harrowed after each plowing, picked clear of rocks and debris between plowings, and finally the seed was harrowed into the ground. When the job was done that way, Elisha estimated the cost per acre at \$6.65 for cultivating and sowing the first crop.<sup>29</sup>

#### Crops and Livestock

The first year of cropping (1833) TenEyck planted corn, oats, potatoes, and a garden, but there is no indication of acreage in each category. He had trouble with the corn. In July he reported that it had been hit by

frost three times that spring, so there was little left of it. In October he reported that his potato crop grew well at first but suffered from late summer drought, yielding only seventy bushels from a planting that should have produced two hundred bushels. The oat crop was very good, much better than expected, but it must have been limited in acreage. He still had to buy oat straw for fodder before the next winter was over.

That first year he had not arrived and cleared land early enough to plant winter wheat, but in the fall of 1833 he did put in a crop. It was not too successful; he had trouble, as did the area generally, with insects and also smut (a parasitic fungus). That second year he decided not to try corn again, a judgment he supported later by reporting that his neighbors' crops of corn were "rather backward." (This is interesting inasmuch as the Indians had found this to be a good area for growing corn.) TenEyck also tried a "piece of buckwheat," but does not mention anything about its success or failure nor does he mention planting any in later years. His initial success with oats was repeated the second year; he had six to eight acres of the "largest oats I ever saw grow out of the ground."<sup>30</sup> Again his potatoes (three acres) had a good start but yielded "not More Than one Third of a Crop," because of "Dry weather Coming on so severly after The Wet."<sup>31</sup>

One of the questions was, what can we raise successfully for which there will be a market? At the end of the second year TenEyck discussed in one of his letters the relative merits of various products and the possibility of changing activities:

as it Respects a Change of pollicy, I Thot Will be Better for us Both. I never Made Much Calculation on raising Corn hear at presant on account of The Late and Early frosts but have put full Confidence in Wheat but That also appears To be a verry uncertain Crop and The price verry Low There does not appear To be Mutch To be Made Butter and Cheese and Wool and Cloth is in Good Demand and Therfore I think a Change Would be advisable for us Both I Think There Will be but Little To be feared from The attact of Wolves amongts a Lot of Sheep in oppen Day and at night They will of Course be yarded.<sup>32</sup>

He investigated the possibility of getting sheep, inquiring within the Territory first, then writing to Ohio and Canada. He reported them unavailable "for any reasonable price . . . Short of Ohio."<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile he continued to suggest and perhaps try other crops--turnips, rye, and even corn again on a small scale. His most complete reports are given at the end of the third crop year (1835). The wheat had done fairly well that year; he obtained a "good crop" from the part that was planted early (thirteen acres) despite its being shrunk from rust and being badly down by the time it was harvested.<sup>34</sup> That which had been planted later was hardly worth harvesting. The weather must have been wet after harvesting; TenEyck complained that he could not burn the stubble and that the straw was so long he could not plow

without first burning. The wet conditions were good for the potatoes, however, and he reported that they were extremely good as were the oats. He assured Elisha that there were enough oats to winter a hundred to two hundred sheep, though sheep were still not available. The corn was the least successful, five acres being "tolerable" and the remainder "a Mere Nothing."<sup>35</sup>

The livestock situation during this three year period is a bit hazy. TenEyck had two and sometimes three yoke of oxen and some milk cows as well. I can't tell how many. The first summer he mentioned only that the cows had all calved and were doing well.<sup>36</sup> During the winter of 1833-1834 he had to buy considerable fodder for the cattle, but they wintered extremely well. There was no barn as yet, and he admits he had to scant them in their feed. The cows, though thin, remained strong.<sup>37</sup> Sometime early in 1835 they bought three hogs and by October had six shoats (young hogs, less than a year old), plus having butchered 790 pounds of pork.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps because of his lack of success with corn, he suggested growing rye that year because it would be "the best of feed for hogs."<sup>39</sup>

#### Interim Period

The tenants' operation of the farm is not as well documented after Henry TenEyck gave up his tenancy. In 1835 his wife and one child died, and he was unwilling to handle the operation as he formerly had.<sup>40</sup> Several other

tenants worked on different parts of the farm and apparently they did not get along well; there were complaints about quality of work, use of equipment, division of crops grown on shares, and conflicting rights and responsibilities. Some of the arguments even had to be settled in court.

Until Elisha took over personally, no great change occurred in the farm procedures except for enlargement of operations. At least one more house and barn were built, and additional acres were cleared and put into crops. Elisha also occasionally bought a small piece of land. Two hundred acres were bought in 1835 (that's where our part of the farm comes in) and incorporated into the family farm. Altogether, when the Andrews moved to Michigan in 1841, Elisha owned 1,520 acres in two townships (Figure 10, page 42). The tenants continued to operate many of the parcels, but Elisha took over the operation of the main units in Armada Township.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ESTABLISHED FARM

Elisha moved the family to Michigan in the spring of 1841. Most of the family probably came by steamboat. At least George, commenting about steamboats in a letter to Joseph many years later, mentioned "the old thing we came up the lake in a good many years ago."<sup>1</sup> Charles, however, came across Canada. After getting settled in Michigan, he wrote Mr. True about the journey and his first impressions of Michigan.

My journey with the exception of about thirty miles was very pleasant and I enjoyed it finely, sometimes however I was rather lonely and thought I should be willing to give considerable if I could have Mr. True, or some other good friend for a companion. You would have enjoyed the journey I am sure, for it would have afforded you a fine opportunity to indulge your taste for the study of botany. My route many times lay through uncleard opening land and flowers were very abundant, some of them were beautiful and many of them were new to me. I had no book and consequently was unable to study at all, but I thought "how True would enjoy this and how much he would hinder me too, by jumping out to pick every flower that he saw." Canada is certainly a delightful country much more so than I had supposed. The farms appear to be in a high state of cultivation, buildings good, many that are elegant, and the country generally is much older than I expected to see it. The roads which are supported by government are very fine with the exception of the last thirty miles where the country is very new.

Now for the "first impressions" on my arrival in Mich. My first impression was that the people in Mich were rascals, for I got "shaved" before I had been in the state twenty minutes. My second impression

confirmed the first, and I retain them both to this day. Every man seems to have a peculiar regard for himself, and for his own interests and he exercises it at the expense of his own reputation and not unfrequently his neighbours. But to this general state of things there is an occasional exception, and we do find here and there a man, who is really a man, and those who have lived here several years think they can see a decided improvement in the state of society. The country must sometime be a beautiful one. To one accustomed the hills and vallies of Monroe Co. a country as level as this is at first rather unpleasant, but this soon is removed and he sees that a very few years will make this a country far superior to Western N. York. Crops can be raised with much less labour and the soil is very rich. Distance from market is the greatest objection to this as a farming country. The crops in this country look better than any that I saw in N.Y. or anywhere on my journey. But the religious privileges that we enjoyed in Pittsford we cannot have here for a long time. I must confess I am a little homesick when Sunday comes.<sup>2</sup>

The farm to which the Andrews came was certainly larger than the typical family farm of that period, but Elisha did not intend to operate it all by himself. His plan was to provide each of his children with a farm near his own if and when they were ready to use it.

Some of the land was turned over to children within a few years. Charles was married in 1845, and a quarter section with considerable improvement was turned over to him. Anne was married in 1847 and also received a farm--240 acres, but with less improvement. Anne and Eleazer were involved in teaching rather than farming at first and so had less immediate need for an operational farm. In fact, Elisha continued to include some of Anne's farm in his operations for a while. None of the other



children chose farming as an occupation, so the rest of the land was Elisha's until his death.

### Crops and Livestock

Although information on the farm is sketchy for the decade of the 1840s, it seems likely that by 1843, ten years after the first land was cleared, Elisha had established farming very similar to that which he had done in the east. He took over the direct management of the farm in 1841 and from then on based his operation on wool. This is not surprising. He had raised sheep in Vermont and in New York and continued to do so in Michigan. Raising sheep had become fairly common in the area by the time Elisha arrived, but the size of his establishment and its emphasis on sheep were not.

The size of the flock during the early forties is not clear, though its presence is noted. In Anne's diary for early May 1843 she wrote, "The sheep suffer from the exposure and some lambs have died." And toward the end of the same month, "Father has been preparing a place for washing sheep by ploughing a channel and conducting the water into a reservoir a few rods east of the bridge. It will be rather a deformity in the prospect but a very great advantage in washing the sheep."

Much more detailed information on the sheep and on farming in general is available for 1850 and 1851. The records include a relatively complete description of

Elisha's program and provide a basis for comparing his activities with those of other farmers in the township. Published census figures for 1850 provide information for the township as a whole. In addition, statistics on individual farms are available from the enumerators' books which are on file in the Michigan Historical Association Archives. And Elisha's own account book provides detailed information on his farm for 1851.

By 1850 the area had progressed beyond the raw frontier stage. Three-quarters of the area in Armada Township was included within occupied farms, and 43 percent of the land in occupied farms had been cleared--classed as "improved" in census records.<sup>3</sup>

Using the published census figures, I've figured the "average" farm for Armada Township in 1850 (Table 1). From the enumerator's book, data for Elisha's farm are also included for comparison.

Elisha was operating two hundred acres of improved land and had five hundred acres unimproved, though notations in his account book show he paid taxes on only 620 acres.<sup>4</sup> His was the largest farm in the township. Eight farmers managed a half section or more, but Elisha was the only one who handled a full section or more. Looking at improved acreage only, Elisha and two others shared the leadership honors, each cultivating two hundred acres. Three others in the township had improved acreages between

TABLE 1

## AGRICULTURAL CENSUS RECORDS FOR ARMADA TOWNSHIP, 1850

	Totals for Armada Tsp. <sup>a</sup>	Average Farm Armada Tsp.	E. D. Andrews <sup>b</sup>
Occupied farms			
Whole number . . . .	135	1	1
Acres improved . . .	7,600	56	200
Acres unimproved . .	9,711	72	500
Cash value of . . .	\$222,880	\$1,651.00	\$6,000
Value of farming im- plements & mach. . .	\$12,406	\$91.90	\$150
Live Stock, June 1, 1850			
Horses . . . . .	230	1.7	3
Asses and mules . .	1	0.0	0
Milch cows . . . . .	486	3.6	6
Working oxen . . . .	215	1.6	6
Other cattle . . . .	657	4.9	4
Sheep . . . . .	5,191	38.0	420
Swine . . . . .	1,112	8.2	25
Value of live stock	\$34,820	\$258.00	\$1,000
Produce, during year ending June 1, 1850			
Wheat, bushels of .	8,615	64.0	130
Rye, bushels of . .	110	0.8	0
Indian corn, bu. . .	20,070	148.7	0
Oats, bushels of . .	25,186	186.6	300
Barley, bushels of .	110	0.8	0
Buckwheat, bushels .	2,607	19.3	0
Potatoes, bushels .	5,696	42.2	100
Wool, pounds of . .	11,632	86.2	1,100
Value of orchard products . . . . .	\$729	\$5.40	0
Butter, pounds of .	23,916	177.1	400
Cheese, pounds of .	7,410	54.9	200
Hay, tons of . . . .	2,029	15.0	60
Clover seed, bu. . .	19	0.1	0
Maple sugar, lbs. .	11,440	84.8	0

<sup>a</sup>Statistics of the State of Michigan Compiled from the Census of 1850 (Lansing: R. W. Ingals, State Printer, 1851), pp. 104-7.

<sup>b</sup>United States Census of State of Michigan's Products of Agriculture, 1850. Original enumerators' books on file at The Archives, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan.

150 and 170 acres, one of those being Betsey's brother, Edward Lathrop.

Although production was on a larger scale in most things, Elisha's farming seems to have been much the same as the others. In comparing the number of cows with the production of butter and cheese, it would seem that he was a better than average dairyman. Otherwise, the major differences were the presence of a large number of sheep and the absence of Indian corn, orchard products, and maple sugar. The absence of corn and fruit was not typical. In 1851 he produced 350 bushels of corn, and on November 26, 1848, he wrote Seth:

Crops were good and fruit abundant, such as plumbs, peaches and apples. Apples were from 12-1/2 cts a bushel, the latter price only for the best of grafted fruit. We had on our orchard between 30 & forty bushels.

As for maple sugar, there is no indication that they made any. Rather, for sweetening they kept bees<sup>5</sup> and even made some sales of beeswax and honey.<sup>6</sup> The most noteworthy difference, then, would seem to be the sheep. Elisha's 420 sheep put him in a class by himself. Although 85 percent of the farmers raised sheep, the vast majority of them had less than a hundred head. Only seven had more than a hundred and only Elisha and one other farmer had more than 150.

The farm operation in 1851 is documented much more thoroughly than in any other year. Elisha kept detailed accounts and analyzed his business for that year. The

explanation for his doing so appears in a letter Betsey wrote in 1855.

The july of 1850 he was wounded by the carelessness of a laborer who was mowing. The wound injured the great nerve of the leg and although the cut soon healed, neuralgic pains caused the most intense suffering. The wound was just above the ankle joint on the inside of his limb, but had the skin been removed from his foot it could not have been more sensible. In may or june of '51 he began to get about a little with the aid of a crutch, and in october was so much better that we hoped a few months would restore his limb to soundness. But a ride of a few miles in november again prostrated him renewing his pain and agony he could only be moved by drawing his easy chair from bedroom to parlor. . . . He was never more useful in his family, than during his lon confinement read & wrote when pain was not too intense, attended to his business concerns, his mind was never more active.<sup>7</sup>

From the records he kept, Elisha wrote reports on farming, using his own farm as the basis for analysis. Here is the one he wrote on wool, his main commercial product.

At the present price of grain and the cost of labor in Michigan, wool growing is undoubtedly as profitable as any other branch of farming, especially with those who have large tracts of land and who have most of their labor to hire. Still it is believed that the profits of wool growing are but moderate, and that those who rush into it with other expectations will find themselves disappointed.

I have been a wool grower for near forty years, and have endeavoured, through all the changes of the markt to keep an accurate estimate of the loss & profits of the business. I have for several years past sheered about four hundred sheep, and through the summer have kept including lambs between five and six hundred. To summer this number untill harves it takes over a hundred acres of land, and after harvest nearly as much more in the wheat & oat stuble fields, and fields that have been grazed by other stock, equal to 150 acres for the whole growing season

Use of one hundred & fifty acres of land at 140 cts per acre . . . .	164	<u>/error/</u>
Interest on 400 sheep--at 1 doll per head	28	
Deterioration of flock by reason of increasing age, ten per cent	40	
Deaths estimated at 5 per cent . . . .	20	
Expense of looking after sheep, salting & fencing	20	
Salt for the year	7	
Hay for wintering 30 tons at five dolls	150	
Grain for lambs and old sheep	37	
Foddering & tending	20	
Expense of sheds and racks for feeding	12	
Tagging, washing, & sheering actual expense last year	35	
Taxes	<u>5</u>	<u>/error/</u>
	528	
By wool sold	440.75	
By sheep sold	28.00	
Do slaughtered	27.00	
By 117 lambs at 1 dol per head	117.00	
	<u>612.75</u>	
	- 528.00	
	<u>84.758</u>	

The general farming operation was covered in the following report. It perhaps should be noted that these reports are unsigned and undated, though the handwriting is definitely Elisha's and the records referred to are dated 1851 in his account book.

The scriptures put the stamp of folly upon the man who undertakes to build without first counting the cost; and common sense teaches us that no business can be successfully pursued without accurate calculation and a careful comparing of cost & profit--loss and gain. The different degrees of prosperity which attend men in life, may be much of it owing to their attention to or neglect of this subject. Some men are very careful in their calculations or shrewd in their conjectures, and such men usually prosper in whatever business they undertake. Others make no calculations at all, follow on in the beaten track of those who have gone before them and the result is what might be expected from such carelessness & stupidity.

It is believed that there is no class of men more in fault in this thing than farmers. This may be owing in part to the fact that careful estimates and calculations have formed no part of the farmers education. The habits of the fathers have descended to the sons, who never trouble themselves, about such calculations, but pursue their business according to the best conjectures that they can make. They may know perhaps from year to year whether they are gaining or losing property, but may be quite unable to tell what their prosperity or loss is owing to--whether they have gained in this thing or lost in that.

One thing that has discouraged the farmer from making such calculation is the difficulty and uncertainty that attends it. The mechanic who had built a wagon may easily know the exact cost of it, and when he has built one wagon he may know what another will cost. Not so with the farmer, a crop on one piece of ground may cost double of the same crop on another. On the same ground he may get twice the produce that he does on another, and prices may from year to year so much vary as materially to alter the results. But admitting all these difficulties it is believed, that a careful account of the expenses and profits of farming if pursued from year to year, would teach the farmer the general average cost of every crop--what crop was most profitable--whether he was selling his produce above or below cost, what he could afford to pay for labor, which was most profitable, cultivation or grazing, and many other things pertaining to his welfare.

The writer has never been entirely inattentive to these suggestions, but still the blame that he casts upon agriculturists at large falls heavily on himself. Dissatisfied with his own course, he determined on a reformation and on the 1st of April last commenced a daily journal of the labour done on his farm, stating how much work was done each day on the several crops cultivated on the farm. The journal was kept after the following form, a specimen of which is given for a week.

---

June

29	S	Clear	vegetation vigorous, prospects for grass wheat and spring crops good
----	---	-------	----------------------------------------------------------------------

---

30	M	Partly clear	2 days plowing for wheat 2 days cultivating & hoeing corn
----	---	--------------	--------------------------------------------------------------

July			
1	T	Clear	2 days plowing fallow 1-1/2 day hoing corn
2	W	Clear	2 days on fallow 2-1/2 on corn 1/2 day mending tools
3	Th	Clear	2 days on fallow 2 days hoing corn
4	F	Clear	Independence 4 hands gone
5	Sa	Clear	2 days on fallow 2 days hoing corn

In my ledger I entered each crop on a separate page /Figure 207--as Wool Crop. Hay Crop Corn Crop. Wheat crop, Oat crop--potatoe crop, Ruta Baga, and from time to time posted the number of days done on the crop, for instance corn 10 days getting out manure, 8 days plowing, 9 days planting, days hoeing 46 days harvesting & cribbing corn, so with every crop, by which I am able to ascertain the exact cost of each crop by the acre and by the bushel.

My crops were not remarkably good and some of them less than usual. My hay was very good about 2 tons to the acre estimated at 60 tons and cost 3 doll by the acre and by the ton 1.50. Much of it was badly lodge, which made an extra cost in mowing, but the use of the revolving horse rake much reduced the cost of gathering. The cost is only about 6 cents by the acre, and if you need a boy to ride as you will if your horse is not perfectly true, it may cost 10. Every man who has ten acres of grass to gather should have a rake.

My potatoe crop was almost a total failure by reason of the rot. had only 33 bushels on an 1-1/4 acre. Cost 36 cents by the bushel. My ruta bagas grew well, but there was only 1/3 of a crop, as the seed came up badly. cost by the bushel 3 cts 9 mills.

Tagging washing & sheering my sheep cost 41 dollars being ten percent on the sale of my wool.

I had 35 acres of oats one half of which were so badly lodged, that I had to mow them with a naked sythe, which added much to the cost of harvesting, and the crop was less than if they had stood well. The result of my grain crops I give in the table below.



22 - Corn Crop for 1887 C. 2 528

May 8	To 15 1/2 days getting on	9 76	Crop of ten acres
	manure		estimated at 35
9	1 day carrying manure	63	bushels to the acre
	Plowing harrowing and	11 25	and 37 1/2 cents
	working 2 days to acre		per bushel — 131 50
	Planting 8 days	5 00	Pumpkins estimated
	seed	1 00	at
	cost when planted	27 64	The stalks offset
July 7 <sup>th</sup>	cultivating plowing &		for use of them
	harrowing for 27 days	17 01	cost by the bushel
	To 46 days harvesting	20 00	at 14 1/2 cents
	previous to Oct 7 <sup>th</sup>		cost by the acre
	Beard 7 weeks to days	7 75	for pumpkins and
	cost up to Oct 7 <sup>th</sup>		corn together
		72 40	Profits by the acre 6 66

Figure 20. An example of crop records in Elisha's account book.

	No. of acres	Yield by the acre	Cost by the acre	Cost by the bushel
wheat	12	18 bush.	9.28	51 cts
oats	35	35	6.38	18-1/6 cts
corn	10	35	7.24	18-1/2 9

The report does not mention it, but the account book contains records of clearing thirty-five acres of new land that summer and planting it all to winter wheat. Thus he would have had a much higher wheat acreage the next year. The account book also contains the following comments about the potato crop that failed:

Potatoe vines began to Die about the last day of July and by the 20th Day Aug the leaves were all dead & dry altho the stalks were yet green. The potatoes were many of them partly rotten and the skin of more were discoloured, the rot having commenced. The juices of the diseased stalks showed under the micriscope fewer globles (of starch perhaps) than healthy vines, and these globles partially discoloured, or of a darker colour than the globles in the healthy vines.<sup>10</sup>

#### Marketing Farm Products

Even when one succeeded in producing a good crop, marketing it was usually difficult on the frontier, and this shows up clearly in the letters. The early ones contain many complaints about the inability to obtain good quality materials and the difficulty of selling goods for cash of any kind. During that early period there was not a large farm surplus, but some wheat and later pork were taken to Detroit and left with an agent for sale. Sometimes the producer waited months for his money, and he was never sure what price his goods would bring. There may have been times when produce was sent east for sale, even

in the early period. In 1835 TenEyck wrote about surplus wheat: "if The Market hear dose Not Call for a dollar pr Bushel [I am calculating] To Send it To an Eastern Market What do you Think of Sutch a plan."<sup>11</sup>

There was more movement of goods west to the frontier than in the other direction in the first few years, and Elisha discovered that it was more profitable to send goods west for barter than to send cash. Several times he sent large shipments of yard goods, leather, and paper to the tenants. Some of it was used to pay for labor, some was bartered, and some sold at a profit.

By the time the Andrews moved to Michigan, things had improved some, but Elisha was not satisfied with local markets for wool. In 1845 he shipped his wool to an old friend in Putney for sale there, taking it to Detroit for shipment late in September. I presume it went as far as Troy, New York, by lake and canal. At Troy it was picked up by freight wagon and then delivered in Brattleboro, Vermont, on the 25th of October. Costs for the shipment were as follows:

Freight to Troy	\$ 8.09
Storage at Troy	.88
Freight to Brattleboro	4.32
Freight, Brattleboro to Putney	<u>1.03</u>
	\$14.32 <sup>12</sup>

This wool was not sold until the middle of January. The net weight of the shipment was 854-3/4 pounds, and it sold at \$0.29 per pound. Sale price then was \$247.88, or a return of \$233.36 after deducting the costs of shipment

and twenty cents interest. Mr. Crawford reported further on the shipment:

I hesitated about selling at that price, fearing you would be disappointed. A Mr. Converse from Boston, interested in a factory in Windsor called to buy my wool. (Yours was stored down in the Village). After examining mine & some bartering he offered 36 which concluded to take. I then told him I had another lot from Michigan which wished to sell him. We went down to see it. He opened 3 or 4 bags & took out perhaps 50 fleeces & after bartering a long time he came up to 29¢ & said he would not give another mill, got into his sleigh & started off. After going a few rods he came back & said he would give no more but I might have a week in which to take the offer or not--(he had engaged a team to carry mine & yours if bought to the factory) During that time I got Mr. James Keyes to look at and advise me. He is called our best Judge & buys about 50,000 pounds a year, but has a full supply on hand & does not wish to buy. Mr. K. thought I had sold mine high. that there was 6 cents difference, but said yours was "smutty" and "would not sell so well as mine at its true value." . . . The bagging & transporting the wool injured the looks & sale of the wool. It was very dusty & some fleeces looked as tho' the sheep went among black logs after washing.<sup>13</sup>

The situation must have been much better in 1847. Elisha took the wool east himself that year, leaving Armada on June 15.<sup>14</sup> He wrote home to the family from Massachusetts:

I left my wool with Steel Anderson & Standish No. 8 & 10 Pearl St to be sold & I took an advance of near 400 dollars upon it. Purchased a lot of goods of about 120 dollars to be forwarded to Mr. Hallock & Co--a clothing merchant in Detroit.<sup>15</sup>

The commercial facilities in Michigan must have been improving during this period. At any rate, Elisha sold his wool locally from 1849 on. A Romeo firm with which he did some general trading bought the wool and credited it to his account.<sup>16</sup> And though there is no way

of knowing the relative quality of the wool, there was not a great difference in price between Michigan and eastern markets. In 1851 Elisha sold most of his wool at 41.5¢ per pound in Romeo<sup>17</sup> and David Crawford wrote of selling his for 45¢ in New England.<sup>18</sup>

Although the Andrews did not raise a great many cattle, at least one attempt was made to drive cattle east to market. Charles Andrews was in charge, though the accounts were recorded in Elisha's book, so it may have been under his financing. In January 1848 a thousand dollars was borrowed from the Michigan State Bank for a ninety day period, the interest amounting to \$17.50.<sup>19</sup> With the money, a drove of cattle was purchased from the surrounding area, only a few head from each individual. Judging from the records in the account book, it took them a little over a month to collect the drove. I can't tell how far away they came from; many of the persons listed are farmers from the neighborhood, but there are unfamiliar names as well.<sup>20</sup>

Elisha wrote Anne, who had just recently married, about the trip:

Tues.

Charles started yesterday morning with 64 head of cattle for N. York. James Lathrop, Charles Hyde & a Mr Day go with him. Charles Hyde drives 10 for himself & with James assists Charles A. Mr. Day has 16 head. All assembled together made noise enough. It seems to me a fatiguing jaunt, but C A does not shrink from it.

Sat.

Mr. Spencer went with Charles to Port Huron and saw him safe across the river Wednesday three

oclock. They would start next morning on their way & were in good spirits.<sup>21</sup>

And on March 4:

We had this week a letter from Charles Dated Feb 14 at Lewistown at Noon. Had just got their drove all over the river & started on the Ridge Road for Lakeport. He says they were all well & in good spirits, and that their cattle which at first fell away some, were then doing well. He could not tell what the prospect of selling would be, we shall look for him home in two or three weeks.<sup>22</sup>

They paid anywhere from \$7 to \$35 per head for the cattle in gathering the drove.<sup>23</sup> There is no record of the sale price nor of exactly where they were sold, but Charles did write to Anne after his return: "I had an unpleasant job in driving my cattle and selling them, and did not make any money, but I learned a good deal, and had a glorious good visit in Pittsford."<sup>24</sup> Since there is no further mention of drives, he may have decided once was enough.

Occasionally they sold a hog, but they did not enter the pork business on a large scale. I take that back! The sale of even one hog was large scale in those days. Since they were interested in getting a quantity of lard in addition to pork, they raised fat animals. The one whose weight was reported specifically tipped the scales at 344 pounds (Figure 21).<sup>25</sup>

### Structures

By 1850, along with established farming and improved local market facilities, there had been additional



Figure 21. A typically fat hog of the 1800s. From the orchard and woods in the background, this one must have been a True hog rather than an Andrews hog, but it illustrates the type of hog grown then.

construction. New buildings had been added, and in general their quality was better.

When the Andrews arrived in Michigan, they lived at first in the log house. They began making plans, however, for a frame house. That same house is still standing, although it has been completely remodeled both inside and out. There aren't very many comments about the house in the letters, except to note that the cellar had been dug and stoned and the building "in a good state of forwardness" by May 19, 1843.<sup>26</sup> Later, on June 8, 1843, Anne wrote in her diary that the frame was raised. Building had been delayed because they could not get lumber from the mill. Charles also built a house in 1844, just prior to his marriage, although there is no description of it.

The obvious increases in comfort that must have come with a move from the log house to the frame one are not particularly noted except for one interesting difference that Anne mentioned in her diary. While still in the log house she wrote:

May 23, 1843. Finished Josephus' "Wars of the Jews." It is more than a year since I commenced the "Antiquities." Though subject to fewer interruptions from company, visiting, and meetings than at Pittsford, the condition of our house is such as to present an obstacle to reading perhaps quite as great. The walls are so open and so thin that sound is very readily transmitted and it is impossible to get beyond the sound of ordinary conversation. . . . In addition . . . I have lacked the stimulus afforded by intelligent society and which is much more powerful than I once supposed.



And after the move to the new house:

Nov. 23, 1844. Yesterday we had a stove put up in our front room and after three years deprivation it is truly delightful to gather around the table free from the labors and noise of the kitchen. I have felt less incommoded by the loss of this comfort than I expected to do but never had a sense of comfort more entire than when it was restored. I have always realized the inconvenience in regard to reading and have read very little.

Barns were needed too. In 1851 Elisha reported having three barns on the farm.<sup>27</sup> This may include the first one built by TenEyck. One had also been built on the portion of the farm that became Charles', but I doubt that Elisha included that in the three. There is an interesting summary of expenses in building one of the barns in 1847-1848.<sup>28</sup> I quote it in full in Table 2.

The job of converting the wilderness into farms was enormous and an immense amount of work must have gone into the development. At times it must have been overwhelming. Solomon Lathrop wrote his mother in 1839 in answer to her complaint that he had not written often:

Mother, Michigan is not like Massachusetts. Here we are on a new farm and there is not a moment to be thrown away. We feel the want of a larger improvement and when our growing crops yield us a moment of time, the bushes & trees stare us in the face & forceably convince us that there is no time to be lost. And that whatever is done we must do ourselves, and we are not the most robust of all who have emigrated here.<sup>29</sup>

Charles Andrews also commented on the first years in Michigan:

Business occupies almost every moment of my time so that I barely have time to eat and sleep. We have more business on hand this summer than three farmers ought to have. Five yoke of oxen and two pair of

TABLE 2

## COST OF BUILDING A 46' X 32' BARN IN 1847

Nov. 1847 Commenced building a barn 46 by 32 feet and the following is the record of expence in Labor and cash.

		scraping out cellar 32 feet square a boy & man 3-1/2 day each	3.50
		Team 3-1/2 days at 40 cts per day	1.40
Nov. 24th	To	10 days drawing stone (team work and board thrown in on account of im- provement to the land by clearing off about 10 acres	5.00
1848	To	10 days previous to Jan 7th cutting timber & drawing	6.25
Jan 8 & 9		4 days do.	2.50
March 11	To	13 days drawing up timber to House with team at 1 doll per day	13.00
		scoring 15 days 10 days at 5/0 5 do. at 4/0	8.75
		2 days cutting & drawing sleepers The chips will pay for board of hands	1.00
Aprl 5		scoring rafters and joue 2-1/2 days	1.25
6		By boys 2 days to Draw stone	.75
		By 1 day digging out corners of cellar	.50
		By two days Laying wall	1.25
10 & 11		one & 1/4 day .94 1-1/2 days drawing stone boys 63	1.57
13 to 15		To 4 days laying wall	2.50
"		5 drawing stone & scaping up bank	2.50
23		To 1-1/2 days underpinning and Laying sills	.75
		Board of hands in ? 24-1/2 days	3.50
26		2 days fixing stable & underping	1.00
		Hinges for 2 sets of Great Doors and 5 small	4.00
		Nails for siding and Roof--about 110 lb	6.60
		*Boards for siding & Roof 5.500 at 6 dolls	27.00
		12-1/2 thousand of shingles	21.50
		Board of hands to cover Barn 10-1/2 days	1.75
			<u>117.82</u>
		Paid Carpenter Alfred Aldrich for building Barn fifty dollars	50.00
			<u>167.82</u>

TABLE 2--Continued

Cellar under-pinning banking up and fixing stable with earth floor cost	<u>20.72</u>
Leaving the expence of barn above the cellar	147.10

I have not allowed anything for provision furnished raisers, running on errands to get nails &c, nor anything for my own superintendence of the work. If these were added I call the whole expence of the barn and cellar two hundred dollars.

*Error in carrying out the price of siding above to dolls	<u>6.00</u>
whole expence of barn & cellar and underpinning	<u>173.10</u>

horses must be kept moving in order to accomplish the work which we have laid out so you see even in this land of promise I am a mere slave. My health is very good and I endure hard work much better than I used to. I continue to like Mich. as well as at first.<sup>30</sup>

But by late 1848 Elisha evidently felt that the area in which they lived was "over the hump" on its way to becoming a settled and developed community. He wrote his oldest son:

The social & moral state of the people is improving. The people are better dressed and in a majority of the cases are getting up framed Houses. We hope soon to have all the advantages and privileges of the older settlements at the east. Many of our poorer inhabitants are moving farther west and generally better families come in their place.<sup>31</sup>

## CHAPTER VI

### TOWARD AN "OLDER SOCIETY"

In both Vermont and New York the Andrews had enjoyed the interests and activities of what they referred to as "society." They studied such things as natural science, religion, music, languages, and literature. They spent a lot of time attending meetings, some dedicated to the improvement of the community and some strictly social, and in visiting friends and entertaining them in return. The early years in Michigan allowed little time for such activities, and there were only a few people in the neighborhood who shared their interests. On September 2, 1844, a day when friends had come to "dine," Anne wrote in her diary: "I do not wish to return to Pittsford but if we could enjoy some of the advantages which an older society can command it would be very gratifying." As might be expected, it took a while for the area to be settled and for various services to be made available.

#### Township Population

When TenEyck moved out to Michigan, he was one of the first in the immediate neighborhood. After two years (in February 1834) he reported "no Material Alteration in

our place as it Respects Settling." Most of the earliest land purchases had been on the southern edge of the township, but TenEyck mentioned in that same letter that "There has During the past Season Two families Settled north of us," though in general there was "verry Little public Spirit in our place."

Actual numbers of people in the area are a little harder to find. In 1835 Henry TenEyck wrote that "according To The Late Sesment" the population of Armada Township was between 450 and 500.<sup>1</sup> Fifteen years later the official census figures showed the population to be more than double that. In 1850 there were 201 families living in 200 houses and totaling 1,146 persons.<sup>2</sup> At that same time there were only 135 operating farm units, and it would be interesting to know how many of the "extra" families lived in second houses on farms and how many lived in the small settlement developing "over east" at Burke's Corners (later called Honeyoye and finally the village of Armada).

### Roads

One of the early necessities to the settlers would have been roads. In the beginning the Indian trail was used, but new roads were soon opened. The letter John Taylor wrote in 1832 reported that there were no taxes except highway, indicating the importance of road development in this early period. The highway taxes were usually paid

by a specified number of days of work on the roads. Before Elisha moved to Michigan, he required that his tenants "pay" his highway taxes. And when he was planning his move, he must have inquired about equipment for road work. His nephew Charles Lathrop wrote him on May 19, 1841: "There is no scraper in this district it would be a good thing for the district and will pay your taxes cheaper than you can any other way."

The only roads that were mentioned in the letters, either early or late, were two which adjoined or crossed Elisha's property. Mr. Taylor mentioned the "road that is laid from my land to yours,"<sup>3</sup> but fourteen months later (February 1834) TenEyck announced that the road west--probably the same one--was cut through and was passable but very rough.<sup>4</sup>

Coon Creek Road must have been developed very early. December 17, 1834, TenEyck asked for advice on how to handle a petition which was being circulated asking to have the location of the road changed from east of Coon Creek to west of it. This would run it through the land TenEyck had already cleared. He acknowledged that the west side was a better place for the road if that route had been selected originally, but he felt that it would be impractical to abandon a road that had been worked on for two years just to start all over again in a new location. Evidently the petition failed, for the road is east of the creek today.

Postal Service

Postal service was also extremely important to the early arrivals. Henry TenEyck reported on business and received both instructions and money by mail. And of course the mail brought news of the family. Letters handled in the usual way took anywhere from three to four weeks to go from Pittsford, New York, to Armada. If money was being sent, the letter was usually held until some trusted individual made the trip and delivered it personally. Sometimes those came through in five days.

The location of the post office used varied. In the beginning letters were mailed at Romeo; then TenEyck began to use a post office in Ray, about four miles to the southwest of the farm (Figure 22). In June 1834 he simplified things considerably by becoming the postmaster for Armada and maintaining the post office in the log house.<sup>5</sup> (Figure 23 shows the back of a letter with the postmaster's signature in the upper right corner. For anyone else the cost of mailing the letter would appear there.) This arrangement lasted only as long as TenEyck stayed at that house; after 1836 the letters were most frequently postmarked at Ray, but there were also Romeo, Armada, and even Mt. Clemens postmarks.

Elisha was probably most appreciative of mail service during 1850 and 1851. While he was confined to the house, he wrote a number of old friends, some of whom he had seen only occasionally since they were classmates at

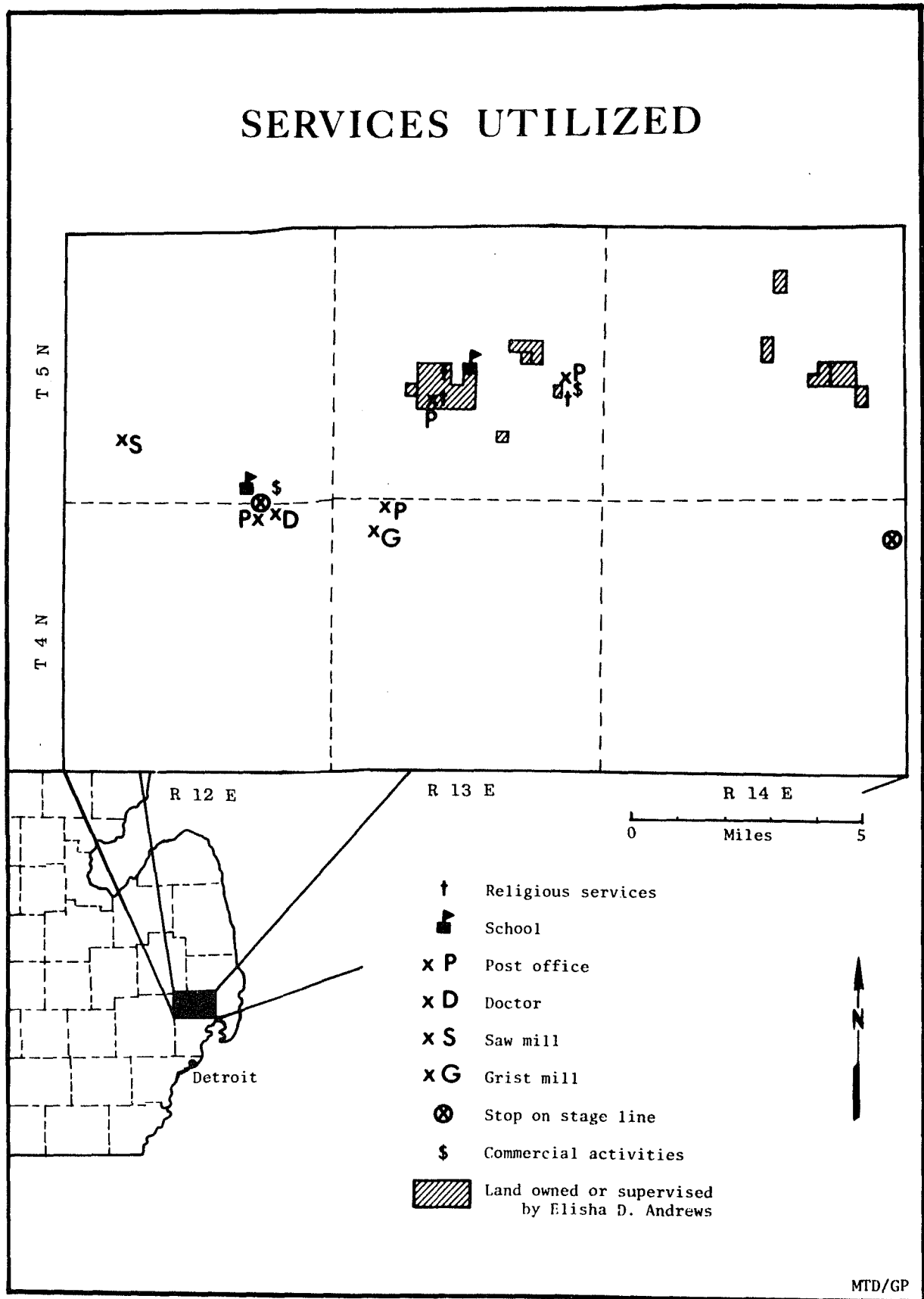


Figure 22. Location of services utilized by residents of the Andrews farm between 1831 and 1850.



H. B. TenEyck  
Oct. 1834



Arundel  
Oct 25

H. B. Ten Eyck N.Y.

free

Rev. O. L. Andrews  
Pittsford  
Dorset County  
N.Y.

Figure 23. The back of one of Henry TenEyck's letters, including address and postmark. Note that he has signed it as postmaster instead of marking a price for mailing in the space where a stamp now would be used.

Yale. From the tone of those letters they must have been a source of considerable pleasure to Elisha. Some of the correspondents seem to have been very interesting personalities--one was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Connecticut,<sup>6</sup> another was Nathan Sargent, Sergeant at Arms of the United States Congress and Recorder of the General Land Office in Washington, D.C., who wrote letters containing political commentary for newspapers under the pseudonym of Oliver Oldschool.<sup>7</sup>

### Religion

Religion was absolutely basic to the Andrews' lives. In Vermont and for part of the time in New York, Elisha had served a church as its regular minister. When they arrived in Michigan, no church large enough to support a minister had been organized in their immediate neighborhood. During the earlier period Henry TenEyck had conducted services in the log house, and Elisha also performed that function after he moved to the territory. Both morning and evening services were conducted in summer, but the evening one was dropped in winter. A Sabbath School met at noon, and here too the family led the way.<sup>8</sup> Betsey, Charles, and Anne were the teachers.<sup>9</sup> The numbers attending were small--just a few families--and, if the weather was bad, sometimes only one family joined the Andrews.

The area served by any of the early church organizations must have been very small. If people returned

home between services, I can see that they wouldn't want to go far. Another group met at Burke's Corners (Armada), and the Lathrops attended there. One other group is mentioned, but there is no indication of where it met. When one of the groups had a visiting clergyman, all three met together "over east," or if Elisha was not well enough to preach, some of the family attended services there at Burke's Corners.<sup>10</sup>

Anne was also interested in building a Sabbath School library and considered providing it herself. But she indicated her concern for the long-term good of the group when she philosophized in her diary:

I am trying to devise some method to obtain a S. S. Library. If the old maxim "where there's a will there's a way" is strictly true I think I shall succeed. I should prefer to own the books myself as this would give me the entire control of them: but people should provide themselves with such things as are needful for the mind as well as for the body and I do not know as it would be right to give a library where they might by a suitable effort obtain one for themselves. People need to be trained to benevolent effort and a habit of providing such things as will be useful to the community may be a means of establishing this habit. If preaching is gratuitous, the house of worship gratuitous, the S. S. Library gratuitous, I fear they will be considered things to which they have a right, so long as those who give them have ability to furnish them; even if those for whose benefit they are designed, are able to provide them for themselves.<sup>11</sup>

The family also supported foreign missionary work, and Seth believed in it strongly enough to spend twelve years (1836 to 1848) as a medical missionary in the Sandwich Islands. He returned to the mainland only because of poor health. The Andrews and whatever church they were

associated with, in New York at first and later in Michigan, sent barrels of supplies to Hawaii to support the efforts there. There is one lovely twist to this--Seth taught his native parishioners the virtue of supporting churches in distant places, and the Hawaiian group made a donation to support the developing church in Armada Township!<sup>12</sup>

The family had been active in both Congregation and Presbyterian churches, but various family members indicated prejudices against some other religious groups. At one time Ned wrote about some mission schools in Chicago, stating that most of the pupils were "children of Catholics, infidels, Universalists, & other trash."<sup>13</sup> And in another letter he reported:

We had a storm here a few days ago, which blew down four brick buildings (not yet completed) and blew down the steeple of the Universalist church, which grazed the corner of the Catholic hospital as it fell--indeed it came near falling directly into it: this shows the tendency of one form of error to pitch into another.<sup>14</sup>

Even Elisha reveals his attitudes in a letter he wrote eight years or so after they had arrived in Michigan:

As it respects the moral and religious state of Michigan we are doubtless behind New England and the older settled countries at the east. There is nothing in our cities & vilages to distinguish them from the cities & vilages at the east. Here the presbyterians & congregationalists predominate, have good & in many cases elegant, houses of worship, and respectable congregations, and pastors. . . . In our new settled towns & bye places, the methodists predominate intermixed with Baptists, christians, & almost everything else, but a large proportion are nothingarions, universalists & infidels.<sup>15</sup>

In that same letter Elisha complained of an "asthmatic cough in the winter" which made it difficult to continue in the ministry. "Now we have a young man, a home missionary within 3 miles of me on whose ministry I and my family attend, and under existing circumstances I shall not resume my labors."

### Education

Elisha was a college graduate and believed in a good education for his children. Seth attended Dartmouth and Anne the Female Seminary at Canandaigua, New York; both also taught school for short periods of time in the east.

The younger children probably spent less time in formal classrooms. In later years Seth wrote about George: "I don't think he ever attended a district school, unless possibly in Mendon. At P. ittsford your Mother Anne taught all the three boys & they all owe much to her."<sup>16</sup> In Michigan they worked at home during the first years, having books sent by friends in the east when needed. A letter from Charles, written June 3, 1842, to thank Mr. True for a botany text, included the following: "Edmund and George study all the time they can get. I have not attended very much to the subject yet. Business occupies almost every moment of my time . . ." Later Edmund and George attended a boarding school in Romeo, the Macomb Academy. On August 25, 1845, Anne wrote in her

diary: "Edmund returned to Romeo. He is to assist Prof. Nutting by teaching Algebra and Geometry and receives board and tuition for compensation." In the fall of 1846 Edmund entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; although George originally planned to become a farmer, he eventually went on to study law in the office of a prominent judge in Detroit.

Anne not only taught her younger brothers, but she also took on some responsibility for the neighborhood children. She refused to take on a full-time teaching position, but on December 2, 1844, she wrote in her diary:

I have today proposed to meet a class of young persons one evening in the week for the purpose of attending to some branch of study. As there is, and for a year has been, no school it seems very important that some measures should be taken to encourage exertion and awaken interest. I hope the attempt will not prove a useless one.

And on December 21 she reported that the class had met with ten attending to recite geography.

There apparently had been some sort of school earlier, but I'm not sure of its exact location. In 1841 the Lathrops wrote that the teacher, a very pretty young lady, was making her home with them so it probably was nearby.<sup>17</sup> Also, Anne commented in her diary about the dilapidated condition of the schoolhouse in 1843.<sup>18</sup>

The Andrews were active in building a new schoolhouse in 1845 on a corner of their property (District No. 4). Elisha and George worked on the project several days and hired two other men from the neighborhood to help

some. The total cost of the school, including labor, materials, and \$12.00 for the site, was recorded in the account book as \$52.38.<sup>19</sup> Anne wrote in her diary on December 14, 1845: "Our new schoolhouse was so far completed as to be in a state to be used last evening. The house is plastered and part of the benches are made so that the school will commence tomorrow."

Later, after Anne and E. W. True were married, they opened an academy or high school in Burke's Corners.<sup>20</sup> A term of study was twenty-two weeks, and the charges varied with the course of study. Rates for an eleven week quarter varied from \$2.75 for common English studies to \$4.50 for Latin, Greek, and French languages.<sup>21</sup>

The family members were all able to use French and the classical languages. Phrases or sentences in French appeared occasionally in letters, and Edmund sometimes wrote his father in Greek or Latin.<sup>22</sup>

### Music

Music also was an important part of their lives, especially to the three youngest boys. They loved to sing, and the three each taught singing and conducted choirs at one time or another. Charles taught singing schools in the home area during the winter of 1842-1843, for which he collected fees.<sup>23</sup> Edmund and George earned money for their college and law studies in the same way in the Ann Arbor area and in Detroit.

George was interested enough and ingenious enough to build himself a pipe organ. Elisha wrote to Seth on November 26, 1848:

George is building a House organ & Designs to have it so far finished before Edmunds return as to have his assistance in putting it up and tuning it. The 3 boys are all great proficient in music, and George is withall a very good mechanic & I doubt not will produce a good instrument, altho he never saw one.

Seth also wrote about the project many years later:

You know how he built the organ having never seen one, or certainly not the internal structure. When he was at a loss about any part he wrote to Edmund who as leader of the Choir in church at A. Arbor had access to the organ, & from him learned the structure of any part.<sup>24</sup>

The job was completed successfully, and, as often happens when one makes improvements, the family taxes went up as a result! The valuation of the organ was set at \$100 in 1853.<sup>25</sup>

George's interest in organs was also indicated by an experience he had after he started studying law in Detroit. There was a traveling circus in the vicinity with a number of animals, but George's main interest was in an organ grinder. He paid the man a shilling to show him the internal workings, which he described in quite some detail in one letter.<sup>26</sup>

### Health

Health is always important, but it must have been a particular concern then. On a frontier farm doctors were not readily available and hospitals were non-existent.



Most of the time families had to tend to their own injuries or illnesses with the help of friends and neighbors.

Doctors were available for extreme cases even during the early stages of settlement. Henry TenEyck called a doctor from Romeo to take care of his wife when she was dying, and two other medical men were called in for consultation.<sup>27</sup>

As in most newly settled areas, people suffered frequently from ague (malaria). Those who arrived after clearing had been done and the mosquito population reduced had less of a problem. Anne mentioned the mosquitoes in her diary. On May 22, 1843, when they were still living in the log house, she wrote:

We have been exceedingly annoyed for some days by those insignificant but exceedingly troublesome insects Musquitoes. We can do nothing in peace unless enveloped in a cloud of smoke which we should consider in itself a great trouble did it not to some extent free us from a greater.

And on May 28, 1844, after moving to the frame house, she reported:

Muschetoes are numerous and often troublesome but not as much so as at the log house. We have not been obliged to resort to a smoke this year as we did last year and the year before and as the occupants of the log house still do. We are a little farther removed from the woods and the cattle from the woods do not bring them to the door as they do there.

Most of the personal letters contained a short review of the family's health, and for the most part those portions of the letters were repetitious and not too interesting. One paragraph caught my fancy, however, not so

much for the facts as for the way it was written--obviously by Henry TenEyck:

Mr Taylors people Send Their Love To you all and feel verry gratefull for The fruit you Sent Them They have been verry mutch afflictted indeed The old Lady fell from The Chamber and hurt her John was Thrown from a hoarse and hurt The old Gentleman mashed his Thumb Their hired man has been Laid up Johns Wife has been Laid up with The Rheumatism And To add To it all They have Lost an ox but are now better.<sup>28</sup>

The Andrews' letters mention injuries and illnesses, but they contain no comments about consulting local doctors except members of the family. The family had a number of medical books, and some letters described symptoms and treatments in detail. They probably were far better informed in medical matters than the average family. When Charles' first wife was seriously ill, however, he decided to send her to stay with her family in Ypsilanti where competent medical help would be more readily available. After Seth returned from Hawaii and established a practice in Romeo, he handled the family medical problems.

#### Public Service

Family members also held minor public offices. Solomon Lathrop was elected Supervisor and Justice of the Peace in 1840,<sup>29</sup> and in 1844 Elisha was Director of the Poor for the township of Armada.<sup>30</sup> The account book shows that he collected expense money occasionally for trips involving people who for one reason or another required care by the government.

In 1846 Anne reported in her diary:

The 24th of Jan'y Mr Albert Aldrich came here with a little boy (Thomas Proctor) who had by the advice of neighbours run away from the place where he lived and was homeless. Father consented that he should remain here and having since learned that the man with whom he formerly lived does not intend to call for him he intends to keep him. He is an active obliging little fellow 14 years of age.<sup>31</sup>

I'm not sure whether Tom was brought to the Andrews because of Elisha's position or because Elisha usually hired extra help. Tom stayed with the Andrews until he was able to manage a farm of his own. Some time after Elisha's death, Tom bought the portion of the farm containing the log house. His descendants still own that land, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Proctor were able to show me where the spring is and where the log cabin stood (Figure 18, page 65). In their back yard is a rose bush that grew by the corner of the log house.<sup>32</sup> It may have been one of the many plants that Anne sent from New York just before the family moved to Michigan.<sup>33</sup>

#### Financial Matters

Money was scarce on the frontier, and the transfer of funds was often a major problem. Many different kinds of bank drafts were available, and both British and United States currency must have circulated. Some prices were given in shillings, some in dollars. When possible, many business transactions were carried on by barter. When banks had to be used, those in Detroit or even in New England were consulted.

From the beginning of his period of tenancy, Henry TenEyck had problems in paying Elisha's bills. On April 16, 1834, he wrote:

Yours of The 7 of March was Received Four Weeks from Date I was a Good Eal Disapoid In not finding a bank note inclosed but When I come To Read it I Could account for it finding you all Broke Down in That Country but That Does not help us hear at all We are as needy as Ever I find my Self a Good Eal put To it To Get a Long Without Money I have made a number of Contracts and The money is now due and Some of Them must be paid Soon or There will be Cost Made and I Do not want To be Sent for by an officer if it Can be avoided . . . I have Delayed Sending This hoping To hear from you The next mail and yesterday I Received yours of The 11 of April with 15 Dollars Enclosed I Do not hardly Know What To Do with it as There is So many places for it To go. There is Reports in Circulation That it is a contrived plan Between you and myself To Get in Debt as mutch as We can and Then brake Down This report however Comes from The Whiskey folks.

Elisha operated much of the time on borrowed money, and was sued at various times for late payment of bills. Frequently he had assets which he was unable to convert into cash. Somehow he always managed to squeak through. He was able to keep and develop his farm only because his major creditor was a friend who did not foreclose, even when Elisha was unable to make payments as expected. Other people in similar straits but with less understanding creditors no doubt lost their land.

#### The End of the Rainbow?

Although Elisha accomplished great improvements in agriculture and community development, he did not realize all his dreams in Michigan. His hope was to provide a

farm for each of his sons and have them close around him. Charles did stay on the farm provided him until he retired to town. Elisha had not allowed land for Anne in his original plans but bought land later and provided her with a farm when she married. (It's ironic that hers is the only land that is still owned by the family.)

George worked with his father for several years and tried to take over when his father died in 1852. He did not like farming, however, and in the mid-1850s moved to Detroit to study law. From Detroit he wrote his mother: "I feel miserably about leaving you in your weakness--but I believe it was best. I think I should have been as crazy as Joseph in another year."<sup>34</sup> And in another letter dated only "Mon. eve.," he explained: "Farming left my mind too much at liberty--it was always on some track that made me uncomfortable." His legal career was quite successful, and when he died, he was a Supreme Court Judge in the State of Tennessee.

On Seth's return from Hawaii, Elisha bought a small piece of land at Burke's Corners (Armada) so Seth could set up practice there. Seth decided, however, to practice in Romeo and wrote his father suggesting that Elisha use the land "in some way for your own comfort & mothers. I don't believe in your laying up all your earnings for your children."<sup>35</sup>

Edmund, after finishing medical school, decided to move to Chicago and wrote his mother:

I hate to get so far from you, but I cant help it. The fact is, mother, if you had had a set of stupid blockhead boys without mind or enterprize, they might have all staid together in a snug little knot, but as you produced a lot of go ahead fellows they must scatter or smother. four rousing chaps cannot be contained in one township. . . . I am satisfied of this one thing, viz that he who proposes at all hazards to keep four active young fellows in the same coop, virtually proposes to destroy the prospects of three of them, so far as being men of mark and power is concerned.<sup>36</sup>

Despite these later developments, Elisha had apparently been well satisfied with his life in general and the progress the family had made. He summed up his feelings about the move west in a letter written about 1849 to an old classmate in New England:

When I was about to remove to Michigan a friend in N. York said to me that a man who had a comfortable situation there, & who should sell it & go to M. ought to be sent to the Insane Assylum. But I have not regretted my removal. It is true we have not all the privileges of an old country but we have some to counterbalance them. While my children have suffered nothing in a religious point of view I have been able to give each of them a good farm, and they are exerting an influence in the sabbath school & other institutions, so that I think their usefulness will be rather increased than diminished. Our comforts & even luxuries not much less abundant than in N. E.<sup>37</sup>

Would that every man could look back on his life and his decisions with as much satisfaction!

## GENEALOGICAL APPENDIX

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### The Older Generation

Jonathan Andrews (who was a Minute Man in the Revolution)

b. May 28, 1756  
d. December 27, 1806  
m. May 16, 1782, to

Ruth Deming

b. November 26, 1756  
d. October 11, 1830

Their children were: Elisha Deming Andrews

b. February 18, 1783,  
Southington, Conn.  
d. January 12, 1852, Armada, Mich.

Mary Andrews

b. November 22, 1784,  
Southington, Conn.  
d. December 5, 1822, West  
Springfield, Mass.

Emma Andrews

b. August 7, 1795, Southington,  
Conn.  
d. March 21, 1871, Richmond, Mich.

Dr. Seth Lathrop

b. April 11, 1762  
d. February 26, 1831  
m. August 29, 1787, to

Anna Abbott

b.  
d. September 13, 1846

Their children were: Betsey Lathrop

b. July 28, 1788, West  
Springfield, Mass.  
d. June 5, 1859, Armada, Mich.

Solomon Lathrop

b.  
d.

Edward Lathrop

b. April 18, 1792, West  
Springfield, Mass.  
d. September 11, 1863, Armada,  
Mich.



The Next Generation

Elisha Deming Andrews  
 m. September 13, 1808, to  
 Betsey Lathrop

Their children were: Seth Lathrop Andrews  
 b. June 24, 1809, Putney, Vt.  
 d. February 17, 1893, Romeo, Mich.  
 m. November 11, 1836, to Parnelly  
 Pierce  
 2m. ? to Amelia Jamison Dike  
 Anne Amelia Andrews  
 b. January 8, 1812, Putney, Vt.  
 d. July, 1898, Armada, Mich.  
 m. December 29, 1847, to Eleazer  
 Wells True  
 Joseph Lathrop Andrews  
 b. April 14, 1814, Putney, Vt.  
 d.  
 Female, stillborn, September 30,  
 1816  
 Charles Andrews I  
 b. August 31, 1817, Putney, Vt.  
 d. July 9, 1818, Putney, Vt.  
 Charles Andrews II  
 b. August 28, 1820, Putney, Vt.  
 d.  
 m. January 29, 1845, to Charlotte  
 Hewitt  
 2m. October 23, 1849, to Mary  
 Myrick Elliot  
 Edmund Andrews  
 b. April 22, 1824, Putney, Vt.  
 d.  
 m. April 13, 1853, to Sarah Eliza  
 Taylor  
 2m. ? to Frances Taylor  
 Barret  
 George Andrews  
 b. December 28, 1826, Putney,  
 Vt.  
 d. August 22, 1889, in  
 Tennessee  
 m. January 1, 1856, to Mary  
 Lathrop

Edward Lathrop  
 m. October 3, 1815, to  
 Emma Andrews

Their children were: Charles Abbott Lathrop

- b. October 25, 1816, West  
 Springfield, Mass.
- d. November 28, 1904, Armada,  
 Mich.

Seth Lathrop

- b. July 1, 1818, West  
 Springfield, Mass.
- d. March 10, 1902, Richmond, Mich.

George Andrews Lathrop

- b. April 4, 1820, West  
 Springfield, Mass.
- d. September 9, 1821, West  
 Springfield, Mass.

Jane Mary Lathrop

- b. March 18, 1822, West  
 Springfield, Mass.
- d. February 18, 1890, St. Paul,  
 Minn.

Horace Andrews Lathrop

- b. March 6, 1824, West  
 Springfield, Mass.
- d.

James Edward Lathrop

- b. October 18, 1827, West  
 Springfield, Mass.
- d. June 16, 1856, Pine Run, Mich.

Samuel Lathrop

- b. December 7, 1829, West  
 Springfield, Mass.
- d. August 21, 1885, Clio, Mich.

Elizabeth Lathrop

- b. July 29, 1832, Pittsford, N.Y.
- d. April 19, 1884, Pontiac, Mich.

Dwight Lathrop

- b. August 17, 1834, West  
 Bloomfield, N.Y.
- d. October 10, 1904, Garden City

Anne Abbott Lathrop

- b. April 27, 1837, Pittsford,  
 N.Y.
- d. March 3, 1921, Armada, Mich.

Elisha Deming Lathrop

- b. December 25, 1839, Armada,  
 Mich.
- d. March 3, 1905, Armada, Mich.

Daniel True

b. September 17, 1773, Durham, Me.

d. September 18, 1824, Pittsford, N.Y.

married

Letty York

b.

d. September 5, 1812

Their children were: Enoch True

b. April 29, 1798, Durham,  
Me.

d. October 10, 1803, Durham,  
Me.

Daniel True

b. January 12, 1800, Durham,  
Me.

d. June 3, 1870, Lima, N.Y.

Hannah True

b. April 21, 1802, Durham,  
Me.

d. October 7, 1807, Durham,  
Me.

Elliot True

b. March 1, 1804, Durham,  
Me.

d. September 1, 1806, Durham,  
Me.

Eleazer Wells True

b. October 4, 1806, Durham,  
Me.

d. January 18, 1874, Armada,  
Mich.

Joseph True

b. November 10, 1808, Durham,  
Me.

d. August 24, 1879, Pittsford,  
N.Y.

Letty Elizabeth True (Betsey)

b. January 10, 1812

d. , Armada, Mich.

Second marriage to:

Sarah Williams Ingersoll

b.

d. November 1839

The Line of Descent

Great great grandparents: Elisha Deming Andrews  
Betsey Lathrop Andrews

Great grandparents: Eleazer Wells True  
Anne Amelia Andrews

Grandparents: George Andrews True  
Ida Ardella Smith

Parents: Frank Lathrop True  
Edith Blanche Mills

The current clan: Martha Smith True Field  
Mary Marjorie True Dooley  
John Andrews True  
Janet Elizabeth True Robertson  
Elizabeth Anne True Stevens

## NOTES

## NOTES

### Chapter II

- <sup>1</sup>Elisha Deming Andrews, letter to Hon. Samuel Church, September 21, 1851.
- <sup>2</sup>Edmund Andrews, letter to Charles Andrews, August 24, 1886.
- <sup>3</sup>Jeremiah Ryan, deed to Elisha D. Andrews, February 20, 1815.
- <sup>4</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, draft of letter to Mr. Isham, 1851.
- <sup>5</sup>Edmund Andrews, letter to Anne Andrews True, February 6, 1888.
- <sup>6</sup>Elisha Deming Andrews, letter to Hon. Samuel Church, September 21, 1851.
- <sup>7</sup>Elisha Deming Andrews, notes for a report to the church, Mendon, New York, April 19, 1830.
- <sup>8</sup>Commission of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 27th day of December 1830.
- <sup>9</sup>Elisha Deming Andrews, draft of a report on the church, Mendon, New York, December 12, 1831.
- <sup>10</sup>Solomon Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, December 27, 1830.
- <sup>11</sup>Seth Andrews, letter to Anne Andrews, June 26, 1831.
- <sup>12</sup>Seth Andrews, letter to Anne Andrews, August 16, 1831.
- <sup>13</sup>Elisha Deming Andrews, copy of a letter to P. White and E. H. Mason, February 17, 1832.
- <sup>14</sup>Seth Andrews, letter to Anne Andrews, February 29, 1832.
- <sup>15</sup>Eleazer Wells True, letter to Pomeroy Buel, October 25, 1830.

- <sup>16</sup>Solomon Lathrop, letter to Edward Lathrop, March 4, 1831.
- <sup>17</sup>Samuel Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 27, 1837.
- <sup>18</sup>Samuel Lathrop, letter to Edward Lathrop, May 13, 1834; Seth Lathrop, will, June 26, 1830.

## Chapter III

- <sup>1</sup>Betsey True, letter to Eleazer Wells True, July 26, 1836.
- <sup>2</sup>Joseph True, letter to Eleazer Wells True, November 11, 1836.
- <sup>3</sup>Rev. Chandler Bates, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, March 24, 1836.
- <sup>4</sup>David Crawford, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 26, 1837.
- <sup>5</sup>Elisha Deming Andrews, letter to David Crawford, July 4, 1838.
- <sup>6</sup>John E. Day, "Sketches and Incidents Concerning the Settlement of Macomb County," Michigan Pioneer Collections, 4 (1881):314.
- <sup>7</sup>"Gallery of Local Celebrities: No. XXXII, Dr. Edmund A. Andrews," The Chicago Tribune, September 2, 1900, p. 34.
- <sup>8</sup>M.A. Leeson, History of Macomb County, Michigan (Chicago: M. A. Leeson & Co., 1882), p. 245.
- <sup>9</sup>Bela Hubbard, "Geological Survey of Cos. of Shiawassee, Clinton, Barry, Macomb, St. Clair & Lapeer, May 21 to Sept. 22, 1840" (unpublished field notes, University of Michigan Historical Collections).
- <sup>10</sup>Edmund Andrews, letter to Charles Andrews, June 20, 1902.
- <sup>11</sup>Robert F. Eldredge, Past and Present of Macomb County, Michigan (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1905), p. 671.
- <sup>12</sup>Leeson, History of Macomb County, p. 150.

- <sup>13</sup>Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Distribution of the Aboriginal Population of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932), folded map in back.
- <sup>14</sup>Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Archaeological Atlas of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931), Map 6.
- <sup>15</sup>Leeson, History of Macomb County, p. 152.

## Chapter IV

- <sup>1</sup>Elisha Deming Andrews, copy of a letter to P. White and E. H. Mason, February 17, 1832.
- <sup>2</sup>John T. Blois, Gazetteer of the State of Michigan (Detroit: Sydney L. Rood & Co., 1838), p. 158.
- <sup>3</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, September 19, 1835.
- <sup>4</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 27, 1833.
- <sup>5</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 26, 1833.
- <sup>6</sup>Charles Andrews, letter to Eleazer W. True, July 30, 1841.
- <sup>7</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 26, 1833.
- <sup>8</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, October 11, 1833.
- <sup>9</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, April 16, 1834.
- <sup>10</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 26, 1833.
- <sup>11</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 1834.
- <sup>12</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, October 11, 1833.
- <sup>13</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, June 10, 1834.



- <sup>14</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, July 16, 1834.
- <sup>15</sup>Percy Wells Bidwell, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860 (New York: P. Smith, 1941), p. 81.
- <sup>16</sup>Charles A. Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, May 2, 1839.
- <sup>17</sup>Charles A. Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, May 19, 1841.
- <sup>18</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 27, 1833.
- <sup>19</sup>Charles A. Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, March 16, 1840.
- <sup>20</sup>Rev. Chandler Bates, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, March 24, 1836.
- <sup>21</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 27, 1833.
- <sup>22</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 26, 1833.
- <sup>23</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, October 11, 1833.
- <sup>24</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, July 12, 1833.
- <sup>25</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, letter to David Crawford, July 4, 1838.
- <sup>26</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 26, 1833.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, November 11, 1833.
- <sup>29</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 536.
- <sup>30</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, July 16, 1834.
- <sup>31</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, October 18, 1834.

- <sup>32</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, December 17, 1834.
- <sup>34</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 18, 1835.
- <sup>35</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, September 19, 1835.
- <sup>36</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, July 12, 1833.
- <sup>37</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, April 16, 1834.
- <sup>38</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, miscellaneous papers.
- <sup>39</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, October 18, 1834.
- <sup>40</sup>Henry TenEyck, letters to Elisha D. Andrews, March 24 and June 25, 1835.

## Chapter V

- <sup>1</sup>George Andrews, letter to Joseph Andrews, June 16, 1856.
- <sup>2</sup>Charles Andrews, letter to Eleazer W. True, July 30, 1841.
- <sup>3</sup>Statistics of the State of Michigan Compiled from the Census of 1850 (Lansing: R. W. Ingals, State Printer, 1851), p. 105.
- <sup>4</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 196.
- <sup>5</sup>Anne Andrews, diary, August 20, 1844.
- <sup>6</sup>C. B. Newbury Co., bill of credit, Elisha D. Andrews' miscellaneous papers.
- <sup>7</sup>Betsey Andrews, letter to Nathan Sargent, June 16, 1855.
- <sup>8</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, draft of letter to Mr. Isham, 1851.
- <sup>9</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, miscellaneous papers.
- <sup>10</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 542.

- <sup>11</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 18, 1835.
- <sup>12</sup>David Crawford, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, January 23, 1846.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup>Anne Andrews, diary, June 15, 1847.
- <sup>15</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, letter to Betsey Andrews, July 30, 1847.
- <sup>16</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 535.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>18</sup>David Crawford, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, August 9, 1851.
- <sup>19</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, pp. 168-69.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, letter to Anne Andrews True, January 24, 1848.
- <sup>22</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, letter to Anne Andrews True, March 4, 1848.
- <sup>23</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 169.
- <sup>24</sup>Charles Andrews, letter to Anne Andrews True, May 11, 1848.
- <sup>25</sup>Edward Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, January 26, 1840.
- <sup>26</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, copy of letter to David Crawford, May 19, 1843.
- <sup>27</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 548.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 551.
- <sup>29</sup>Solomon Lathrop, letter to Anne Lathrop, October 1839.
- <sup>30</sup>Charles Andrews, letter to Eleazer W. True, June 3, 1842.
- <sup>31</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, letter to Seth L. Andrews, November 26, 1848.

## Chapter VI

- <sup>1</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, March 24, 1835.
- <sup>2</sup>Statistics of the State of Michigan Compiled from the Census of 1850 (Lansing: R. W. Ingals, State Printer, 1851), p. 104.
- <sup>3</sup>John Taylor, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, December 17, 1832.
- <sup>4</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 1834.
- <sup>5</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, June 10, 1834.
- <sup>6</sup>Samuel Church, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, October 18, 1851.
- <sup>7</sup>N. [athan] Sargent, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, January 25, 1850.
- <sup>8</sup>Anne Andrews, diary, May 28, 1843.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., May 13, 1843.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., June 14, 1843; June 28, 1843.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid., May 27, 1844.
- <sup>12</sup>Mother can remember seeing this in the church records somewhere, but I haven't been able to locate it.
- <sup>13</sup>Edmund Andrews, letter to Betsey Andrews, March 17 (no year given, but probably 1856 or 1857).
- <sup>14</sup>Edmund Andrews, letter to Betsey Andrews, November 23, 1856.
- <sup>15</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, copy of a letter to Rev. Noah Porter, 1850.
- <sup>16</sup>Seth L. Andrews, letter to George True, August 26, 1889.
- <sup>17</sup>Jane Lathrop, letter to Anne Andrews, May 19, 1841.
- <sup>18</sup>Anne Andrews, diary, May 28, 1843.
- <sup>19</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 146.

- <sup>20</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, letter to Seth L. Andrews, November 26, 1848.
- <sup>21</sup>Advertising poster for Armada Academy, dated 1852.
- <sup>22</sup>Edmund Andrews, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, Sexto Idus Decembris, Anno Domini Nostri, MDCCCXLIX.
- <sup>23</sup>Anne Andrews, diary, May 10, 1843.
- <sup>24</sup>Seth L. Andrews, letter to George True, August 26, 1889.
- <sup>25</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 196.
- <sup>26</sup>George Andrews, letter to Betsey Andrews, June 2, 1856.
- <sup>27</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, March 24, 1835.
- <sup>28</sup>Henry TenEyck, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, February 1834.
- <sup>29</sup>Edward Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, April 15, 1840.
- <sup>30</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, account book, p. 119.
- <sup>31</sup>Anne Andrews, diary, February 19, 1846.
- <sup>32</sup>Mr. and Mrs. Charles Proctor, personal interview, July 9, 1972.
- <sup>33</sup>Charles Lathrop, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, May 15, 1841.
- <sup>34</sup>George Andrews, letter to Betsey Andrews, December 17, 1855.
- <sup>35</sup>Seth L. Andrews, letter to Elisha D. Andrews, January 9, 1851.
- <sup>36</sup>Edmund Andrews, letter to Betsey Andrews, November 25, 1855.
- <sup>37</sup>Elisha D. Andrews, copy of a letter to Rev. Noah Porter, 1850.

LIST OF SOURCES FOR FIGURES

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Frontispiece. "The primary study area; northern Macomb County, Michigan." Glacial features from Helen M. Martin, Map of the Surface Formations of the Southern Peninsula of Michigan (Michigan Department of Conservation, Geological Survey Division, Publication 49, 1955), and Michigan Water Resources Commission, Report on the Water Resources of the Clinton River Basin (Lansing: Water Resources Commission, 1953), Map No. 1, Surface Geology; location of Andrews purchase from "Macomb County Tract Book," Register of Deeds Office, Macomb County Court House, Mt. Clemens, Michigan.

Figure 1. "Westward migration of the Andrews family." Compiled from letters and other records in the manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.

Figure 2. "Reference map of New England." Both locations and style mainly from T. G. Bradford, Atlas Designed to Illustrate the Abridgement of Universal Geography (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1835).

Figure 3. "Ned's sketch map of Putney, Vermont." Reproduced from the original in the manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.

Figure 4. "View of the village of Putney from the family garden." Reproduced from a photograph in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.

Figure 5. "The brook where the Andrews children used to play." Reproduced from a photograph in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.

Figure 6. "Ned's map of the Town of Putney and the surrounding area." Reproduced from the original in the manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.

- Figure 7. "Grist mill and dam in Putney, Vermont." Reproduced from a photograph in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.
- Figure 8. "View of meadows and Bare Hill from the village of Putney." Reproduced from a photograph in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.
- Figure 9. "Reference map of New York State." Locations determined from letters written by Elisha D. Andrews during June of 1828 and from J. H. Colton and Company, Colton's General Atlas (New York: Johnson and Browning, 1860), Plates 15 and 16.
- Figure 10. "Land purchased by Elisha D. Andrews for himself and members of his family." From the "Macomb County Tract Book," Register of Deeds Office, Macomb County Court House, Mt. Clemens, Michigan, and from letters in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.
- Figure 11. "Topographic map of northern Macomb County, Michigan." Contours from individual township maps provided by the Macomb County Drain Commissioner, Mt. Clemens, Michigan; trails from Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Archaeological Atlas of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931), Map 6.
- Figure 12. "Land sold in 1831 and before, northern Macomb County, Michigan." Base map from Macomb County Planning Commission, Mt. Clemens, Michigan; trails from Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Archaeological Atlas of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931), Map 6; land purchase data from "Macomb County Tract Book," Register of Deeds Office, Macomb County Court House, Mt. Clemens, Michigan.
- Figure 13. "Condition of vegetation in 1817-1818, northern Macomb County, Michigan." Base map from Macomb County Planning Commission, Mt. Clemens, Michigan; condition of vegetation from the "United States Survey Field Notes," Lands Division Office, Michigan Department of Conservation, Lansing, Michigan.
- Figure 14. "Effectiveness of drainage in 1817 and 1818, northern Macomb County, Michigan." Base map from Macomb County Planning Commission, Mt. Clemens, Michigan; effectiveness of drainage from "United States Survey Field Notes," Lands Division Office, Michigan Department of Conservation, Lansing, Michigan.



- Figure 15. "Distribution of Indian population before and during the first white occupancy." From Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Distribution of the Aboriginal Population of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932), fold-out map in back.
- Figure 16. "Archaeological sites, northern Macomb County, Michigan." Base map from Macomb County Planning Commission, Mt. Clemens, Michigan; archaeological sites from Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Archaeological Atlas of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931), Map 6.
- Figure 17. "Part of a letter written by Henry TenEyck." Letter from the manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.
- Figure 18. "The Andrews farm, showing those developments completed between 1832 and 1851 which can be located with reasonable accuracy." From letters in the manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan, and a personal interview with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Proctor, Armada, Michigan, on July 9, 1972.
- Figure 19. "Farmland showing worm fences." Printed from a glass negative in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.
- Figure 20. "An example of crop records in Elisha's account book." From the manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.
- Figure 21. "A typically fat hog of the 1800s." Printed from a glass negative in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.
- Figure 22. "Location of services utilized by residents of the Andrews farm between 1831 and 1850." Compiled from letters and accounts in the collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan, and from Geil and Jones, Map of the Counties of Macomb and St. Clair, Michigan, from Special Surveys and County Records (Philadelphia: Geil, Harley & Silverd, 1859).
- Figure 23. "The back of one of Henry TenEyck's letters, including address and postmark." From the manuscript collection of the Frank True family, Armada, Michigan.

## EPILOGUE

## EPILOGUE

After approximately twenty years, and one generation's work, the area was wilderness no more. In reviewing those years through the reports of the Andrews and their associates, an appreciation of their situation and some understanding of their experiences are gained. But, more important for purpose of this dissertation, the study reveals what the area was like before they arrived and what changes they were able to effect. It also answers many of the questions I had raised.

### The Area and Its Development

What attracted people to the lake plain, even though it had been bypassed by others? Analysis of land purchase records indicates that settlement progressed along established trails and along waterways which could provide a dependable supply of water and, in selected spots, a source of power for grist or saw mills. Where good soil could be found near these other necessities, settlement developed rapidly.

The Andrews' letters provided some additional information. Although Elisha tended to prefer the hillier land of the interior (Charles also found the lake plain unattractive in comparison with the hills of New England

and New York), the deciding factor in choosing lake plain was distance from the shore, the lakes which were the transportation link with eastern markets and friends back "home." It was more important to stay close to the shore, taking what was to them less attractive land, than to go too far into the interior to find more attractive land. Later they justified their choice by commenting that a few years' effort made it better than New York, that the soil was rich, and that crops could be grown with much less effort. Perhaps there is an implication that such a choice had to be justified to people not familiar with the area.

Was the agricultural operation they established representative of the area? It seems not very different from that developed in other parts of Michigan at that time. Wheat was produced as a cash crop, just as it was during the development stages of agriculture in New York and again in Wisconsin and Minnesota as settlement progressed across the country. Wool also was produced for shipment back east, both on the lake plain and in the interior hill lands. The perception of the hillier lands as wheat land and the lake plain as grazing land recorded by one of the pioneers does not seem to be borne out in the statistics. Elisha explained his dependence on wool production not by the fact that he was on lake plain but because he had a very large farm and was dependent on hired labor. Only a few of the farmers in Armada Township

really concentrated heavily on sheep, and there were not unusually large numbers of other types of livestock.

In fact, the problems that the Andrews faced seem to be typical of the frontier in general--the tremendous amount of work involved in developing a farm from the wilderness, distance to markets and to sources of supplies, the problem of doing business without cash or developed financial services, in general the lack of social advantages found in established communities. There is no indication that they faced greater difficulties by virtue of being on the lake plain.

But was the Armada area typical of the lake plain in general? Not completely. Drainage on the upper levels or older lake beds was not the best, but it was far better than that on the lower, younger lake beds bordering the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers and Lake St. Clair. Perhaps the distinction in difficulty of development needs to be made within the lake plain rather than between lake plain and the morainic land of the interior.

Were the Andrews typical of the settlers in the area? In many ways, yes. Much of Michigan was settled by Yankees who left New England, resided for a few years in New York State, and then moved on west to Michigan. In The Expansion of New England, Lois Mathews analyzed that movement, among others. She presented both the reasons for leaving settlements and the aims in moving to new ones.

Disagreements within religious congregations were frequently the reason for leaving for new homes.<sup>1</sup> Such was the case with Elisha when he decided to leave Putney. Many people also left New England because of the lack of good farm land there. "Over and over again the search for cheap and fertile land has been most potent . . . . To obtain a farm of a goodly size,--that has been the object of the majority of emigrants from the beginning."<sup>2</sup> Here, too, Elisha was typical. He sought more and better land, not only for himself but also for his children as they became old enough to support themselves.

Mathews also pointed out that: "Again and again did the settlers seek out the wooded lands which bore a striking resemblance to the tree-covered hills to which they were accustomed in the East."<sup>3</sup> The Andrews fit the mold in their move to New York State but departed from it in the move to Michigan. And in that departure they felt some misgivings.

The dominant trend that Mathews identifies, however, is that New Englanders seemed to settle near others from New England. "The tendency to settle together is there,--just why, it is impossible to say."<sup>4</sup> The Andrews did plan their move with relatives and friends and chose

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<sup>1</sup>Lois Kimball Mathews, The Expansion of New England (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 259-60.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 228.      <sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

land near enough to each other that they could maintain contact. They went to Michigan and worked to develop the community as well as their own personal interests. Mathews wrote that New Englanders moving to the frontier "made it their business to see the town meeting, the church, and the school established as their fathers had founded them."<sup>5</sup> The Andrews participated in community activities wholeheartedly.

The niche they carved for themselves--their personal bailiwick--can be noted in Figure 22, page 103. The focus of activity was the farm in the center of Armada Township. Most of their interaction with the surrounding area was to the south and west--a part of the territory that had been settled longer and that offered more services. Later the family would develop greater ties with the closer village "over east." Were it not for Elisha's land management activities for other people, the eastern two townships could have been excluded from the study area. Most of those activities were in lands settled and developed at a later date, so additional parcels of land could be picked up there at lower prices.

That was their sphere of activity at one stage in the development of the area. Earlier in the settlement period, people had to go farther for supplies--to Detroit, Ohio, or even New York. Much later, with improved transportation facilities, people again traveled greater

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

distances to satisfy their needs. But for 1850, approximately twenty years after settlement, this was the bailiwick of one family. And, except for the special land management activities, it probably was fairly typical of the spheres of activities of most families in that area at that time.

### The Source Materials

Was the decision to base the study on the Andrews collection a sound one? Truly it is an uncommon collection of observations. Their education and interest in natural history and their involvement in the community led them to comment on many things of particular interest to the geographer--the physical environment, the economy that developed, and the cultural advances that were made on the frontier. Their willingness to comment and ability to express themselves permit a clearer perception of their ideas and beliefs than is possible with many records from the past. The collection makes it quite clear that this frontier was being developed by very human people. To succeed they had to be industrious, but also lucky. They were sentimental and fun-loving; they enjoyed books and music, things not readily available on the frontier; they were also prejudiced. If this dissertation is a success, that success is largely theirs; my contribution as a researcher in historical geography is largely that of distilling the material.



The Style of Presentation

What of the style of presentation? Wilbur Zelinsky would call it one of those "cunning ad hoc tricks for manipulating . . . unique bodies of data."<sup>6</sup> I will grant that. But H. C. Prince has stated: "Perhaps the greatest advance in historical geography in recent years has been achieved by viewing the past through the eyes of contemporary observers and by rediscovering the evaluations they made of the objects they observed."<sup>7</sup> As the gap in time widens between the past being studied and the present, that problem of rediscovery becomes greater. The Andrews collection enabled me to make such a rediscovery. You, the reader, are the best judge of whether my presentation communicates that discovery.

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<sup>6</sup>Wilbur Zelinsky, *ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>H. C. Prince, "Progress in Historical Geography," in Trends in Geography, ed. Ronald U. Cooke and James H. Johnson (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 114.

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